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Date: 12/27/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [100-428091]

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO [134-46 Sub B]

SOLO  
IS-C

(U)

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing a translation of the official Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) list of representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties who attended the 11/60 meeting in Moscow, Russia. (U)

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on December 26, 1960. CG 5824-S\* received a copy of the official list in the Russian Language from the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) in his capacity as chairman of the CP, USA delegation. The official list was not published or released. In the opinion of CG 5824-S\*, this list is very exclusive. CG 5824-S\* made a handwritten translation of the list and returned the original to the International Department of the CCCPSU. A copy of the official list, in the Russian language, was available to the head of each delegation. In those instances where the names of the delegates were not set forth in the official list, CG 5824-S\* would be able to make identifications if the Bureau is in possession or can obtain photographs of leading members of the Parties involved.

The letterhead memorandum has been classified "Secret" and the place where prepared has been reflected as Washington, D.C., pursuant to instructions contained in Bulet dated 11/2/60.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR) (Encl. 1)  
1 - New York (AM) (RM) (RRR) (Encl. 1)  
1 - Chicago  
100-134637 (SOLO)

JEK:jem  
(5)

E.C. Wick

62 JAN 11 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

2-25-72  
297,321 297,308



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~SECRET~~

[100-428091] ~~(S)~~ (U)

Washington, D.C..  
December 27, 1960

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES WHO  
ATTENDED THE NOVEMBER, 1960 MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~(S)~~ (U)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has provided an English translation of the official Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) list of representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties who attended the November, 1960 meeting in Moscow, Russia. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The source advised that any variations in the spelling of the names of delegates can be attributed to the translation from Russian to English. The Party position of the delegates appeared on the official list. It is noted that in a few instances the name or names of the delegates were not even set forth on the official list. Where the source was able to identify the unnamed delegates, this has been done. The list is as follows: ~~(S)~~ (U)

I) COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA ~~(S)~~ (U)

1) Laurence (Lance Louis) Sharkey, General Secretary and head of the delegation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

2) Richard Dixon, President.

II) COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA ~~(S)~~ (U)

1) Johann Koplenig, President and head of the delegation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

2) Friedle Feurenberg, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee. ~~(S)~~ (U)

3) Erwin Shilling-Tsukker, member of the Central Committee. ~~(S)~~ (U)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Classified by 6123 mth/buy  
Declassify on: OADR  
297,321 2-25-92  
297,318

ENCLOSURE

[100-428091-1066] ~~(S)~~ (U)

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**LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES WHO  
ATTENDED THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

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**III) ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR**

- 1) Enver Hoxha, First Secretary and head of the delegation.
- 2) Mehmet Shehu, member of the Politburo.
- 3) Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.
- 4) Ramiz Alija, candidate member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

C.P. Leaders  
Albania  
USSR.

**IV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALGERIA**

- 1) Larbi Bouhali, First Secretary and head of the delegation.
- 2) Hamid Abdel Bydraf, member of the Central Committee.

Algeria  
USSR.

**V) COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA**

- 3 X members of the Central Committee.

The source advised that while the official list showed three unidentified delegates, these delegates were:

- 1) Rudolfo Ghioldi.
- 2) Alberti Gonzales Paulino
- 3) The wife of Alberti Gonzales Paulino

**VI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM**

- 1) Ernest Burnelle, National Secretary and head of the delegation.
- 2) Jean Blume, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.
- 3) Branden Van Dan Fran, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

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LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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VII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF BURMA

1) ~~HO~~ Khin, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

2) ~~DEEN~~ Min, member of the Politburo.

3) ~~LWEEN~~ Tint, member of the Central Committee.

VIII) BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1) ~~Todor~~ Zhivkov, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) ~~Anton~~ Yugov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

3) ~~Dimitr~~ Ganev, member of the Politburo.

4) ~~Vilko~~ Tshervenko, member of the Politburo.

5) ~~Mitko~~ Grigorov, Secretary of the Central Committee.

6) ~~Ruben~~ Abramov, member of the Central Committee.

7) ~~Luben~~ Gerasimov, member of the Central Committee.

IX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLIVIA

2 X members of the Central Committee.

Source does not know the identities of the delegates from the Communist Party of Bolivia.

X) COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

1) ~~Luis Carlos~~ Prestes, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) ~~Joakim~~ Ramara Ferreira, member of the Central Committee.

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XI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

- 1) John Gollan, General Secretary and head of the delegation.
- 2) Ross John Campbell, member of the Politburo.
- 3) George Matthews, member of the Politburo and Editor-in-Chief of the London "Daily Worker".
- 4) Annie Powell, member of the Central Committee.

England  
U.S.S.R.

XII) HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

- 1) Janos Kadar, First Secretary and head of the delegation.
- 2) Gyula Kallai, member of the Politburo.
- 3) Dezso Nemesh, member of the Politburo.
- 4) Geza Reves, member of the Central Committee.

Hungary  
U.S.S.R.

XIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

- 1) Jesus Maria, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

Venez  
U.S.S.R.

XIV) WORKERS' PARTY OF VIET NAM

- 1) HO Chi-minh, President and head of the delegation.
- 2) LE Zyan, member of the Politburo and the First Secretary.
- 3) NGUEN Ti-thane, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.
- 4) HUI Kuang-chan, candidate member of the Central Committee.

Viet Nam  
U.S.S.R.

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(U)

XV) PEOPLES' UNITY PARTY OF HAITI

Secretary of the Central Committee and National Council.

The source advised that there were two delegates from the Peoples' Unity Party of Haiti and their identities are not known to the source.

XVI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF GUADELOUPE

1) Serge Pierre Justin, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

2) Juhl Briazel, member of the Politburo.

3) Berten-Denis Kotellon, member of the Politburo.

Guadeloupe  
USC

XVII) GUATEMALA PARTY OF LABOR

A Secretary of the Central Committee.

The source advised that there were two delegates from the Guatemala Party of Labor whose identities are not known to the source.

XVIII) SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

1) Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Otto Grotewohl, member of the Politburo.

3) Hermann Matern, member of the Politburo.

4) Brune Leishner, member of the Politburo.

5) Heinrich Rau, member of the Politburo.

6) Herman Aksen, member of the Central Committee.

East Germany  
USC

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**LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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~~(S)~~ (U)

**XIX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (WEST)**

- 1) Max Reimann, First Secretary. W. GEPH 11/1
- 2) Wilhelm Mon, a Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo. 4.2.51.
- 3) Joseph Ledvon, member of the Politburo.
- 4) Oscar Noiman, candidate member of the Politburo.
- 5) Joseph Shleifshtein, a Secretary of the Central Committee. (U)

**XX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS**

- 1) First Secretary of the Central Committee.
- 2) Candidate member of the Central Committee.

The source does not know the identities of these delegates.

**XXI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE**

- 1) Apostolos Grozos, President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation. 6/11/51
- 2) Dimitros Partsalidis, member of the Politburo. 4.2.51
- 3) Kostas Koliyannis, member of the Politburo.

**XXII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK**

- 1) Knut Jespersen, President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation. Denmark
- 2) Is. Nohrlund, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee. 4.2.51

~~SECRET~~

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(U)

XXIII) DOMINICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY

2 X members of the Central Committee.

The source does not know the identities of these two delegates.

XXIV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

1) Samuel Mikunis, General Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

2) Tohufik Tubi, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

3) Esther Wilenskaya, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

~~(S)~~ (U)  
Israel  
U.S.S.R.

XXV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

1) Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Amrit Shripat Dange, member of the National Executive Committee and the National Council.

3) Shankaran Mana Elamkulath Namboodiripad, member of the National Executive Committee and the National Council.

4) Bhupesh Gupta, a Secretary of the National Council.

5) P. Ramamurti, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the National Council.

India  
U.S.S.R.

XXVI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

1) M.H. Lukman, First Assistant President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

2) Joseph Adjiotrop, a Secretary of the Central Committee and a candidate member of the Politburo.

Indonesia  
U.S.S.R.

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~~SECRET~~

~~(S)~~ (U)

XXVII) JORDAN COMMUNIST PARTY

- 1) General Secretary of the Central Committee.
- 2) Candidate member of the Central Committee.

The source does not know the identities of these delegates.

XXVIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAQ

Staff of 5.

Three members of the Politburo.

Two members of the Central Committee.

The source does not know the identities of these delegates.

XXIX) PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN

1) Reza Radmanesh, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Irads Iskanderi, a Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

3) Echsan Tabari, member of the National Executive Committee.

4) Yaeya Golyon Daneshyan, a member of the National Executive Committee and the President of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party.

XXX) WORKERS' LEAGUE OF IRELAND

- 1) Sean Nolan, President.

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**LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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**XXXI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORTHERN IRELAND**

1) Sean Murray, Secretary of the National Executive Committee and head of the delegation.

2) Hugh Moor, General Secretary.

Ireland  
U.S.S.R.

**XXXII) UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF ICELAND**

1) Einar Olgeirsson, President and head of the delegation.

2) Heiolfur Christian Andersson, candidate member of the Politburo.

Iceland  
U.S.S.R.

**XXXIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN**

1) Dolores Ibarruri, President.

2) Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary.

3) Henrico Lister, member of the National Executive Committee.

Spain  
U.S.S.R.

**XXXIV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY**

1) Luigi Longo, Assistant General Secretary.

2) Mario Alicata, member of the leadership of the Central Committee.

3) Enrico Berlinguer, member of the leadership of the Central Committee.

4) Piero Germano, member of the Central Committee.

5) Luciano Gruppi, member of the Central Committee.

6) Juliano Payetta, member of the Central Committee.

Italy  
U.S.S.R.

~~SECRET~~

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(U)

**XXXV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA**

- 1) ~~Tim Buck~~, General Secretary.
- 2) ~~William Kashtan~~, member of the National Executive Committee.
- 3) ~~Leslie Morris~~, member of the National Executive Committee.

*Canada*

*USSR*

**XXXVI) THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE  
WORKING PEOPLE OF CYPRUS**

- 1) ~~Ezekias Papaioannou~~, General Secretary.

*CYPRUS*  
*USSR*

**XXXVII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

- 1) ~~LIU Shao-chi~~, Assistant Chairman of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo.
- 2) ~~TENG Hsiao-ping~~, General Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo.
- 3) ~~PENG Chen~~, member of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee.
- 4) ~~LI Chin-chuan~~, member of the Politburo.
- 5) ~~LU Ting-yi~~, candidate member of the Politburo.
- 6) ~~KANG Sheng~~, candidate member of the Politburo.
- 7) ~~YANG Shang-kun~~, candidate member of the Secretariat.
- 8) ~~HU Chiao-mu~~, candidate member of the Secretariat.
- 9) ~~LIU Hsiao~~, member of the Central Committee.
- 10) ~~LIAO Cheng-chih~~, member of the Central Committee.

*China*

*U.S.S.R.*

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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~~SECRET~~

(U)

XXXVIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

- 1) ~~Gilberto Vieira~~, Political Secretary
- 2) ~~Luis Marentes~~, member of the National Executive Committee.
- 3) ~~Jose Ochoa Cardona~~, member of the Central Committee.

Colombia

U.S.S.R.

XXXIX) THE KOREAN PARTY OF LABOR

- 1) ~~KIM Ir-sen~~, member of the Presidium and head of the delegation.
- 2) ~~MON Chan-kim~~, member of the Presidium and Assistant President of the Central Committee.
- 3) ~~LEE He-soon~~, member of the Presidium and Assistant President of the Central Committee.
- 4) ~~PAK En-gook~~, member of the Central Committee.
- 5) ~~YI Song-un~~, member of the Central Committee.

KOREA  
U.S.S.R.

XL) THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA

- 1) ~~Manuel Valverde Mora~~, President of the National Executive Committee and head of the delegation.
- 2) ~~Adan Senteno Guevara~~, member of the National Executive Committee.

Costa Rica

U.S.S.R.

XLI) PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY OF CUBA

- 1) ~~Delunde Anibal Escalante~~, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
- 2) ~~Garcia Manuel Luzardo~~, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Cuba  
U.S.S.R.

~~SECRET~~



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(U)

3) Luis Jose Gonzales, member of the Central Committee.

4) Arnaldo Milian, candidate member of the National Executive Committee.

Cuba

U.S.S.R.

XLII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF LEBANON

1) Hassan Korriem, Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

2) Nicholas Shawi, Secretary of the Central Committee.

Lebanon

U.S.S.R.

3) Savaya Savaya, member of the Central Committee.

XLIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF LUXEMBOURG

1) Dominique Urbany, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) John Keel, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Luxembourg

U.S.S.R.

3) Arthur Hoozeldinger, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

XLIV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF MALAYA

1) \_\_\_\_\_, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

2) VEN Lin, member of the Central Committee.

Malaya

3) FAN It-liu, member of the Central Committee.

U.S.S.R.

The source does not know the identity of the head of the delegation.

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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XLV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF MOROCCO

- 1) ~~Ali Yata~~, General Secretary.
- 2) ~~Laiyashi~~, member of the Politburo.

MOROCCO  
U.S.S.R.

XLVI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF MARTINIQUE

1) ~~Camille Silvestre~~, Political Secretary of the Central Committee.

- 2) ~~Victor Liyamon~~, member of the Politburo.

Martinique  
U.S.S.R.

XLVII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO

2 X members of the Central Committee.

The source advised that while the names of the delegates from the Communist Party of Mexico did not appear on the official list, the following represented the Communist Party of Mexico:

- 1) ~~Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo~~.
- 2) ~~Manuel Terrazas Guerrero~~.

MEXICO  
U.S.S.R.

XLVIII) MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

1) ~~Umjagin Tsedenbal~~, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

- 2) ~~Demchigin Molomszants~~, member of the Politburo.

3) ~~Bayerio Szargalsaihan~~, member of the Central Committee.

MONGOLIA  
U.S.S.R.

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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~~SECRET~~

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XLIX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL

1) Dszang Keshar Raemandgee, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Kamar Shach, member of the Politburo.

3) Ram Shambu Shrestha, member of the Central Committee.

4) Hikmat Singh, member of the Central Committee.

5) Radj Krishna Verma, member of the Central Committee.

Nepal

U.S.S.R.

~~(S)~~ (U)

L) COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE NETHERLANDS

1) Paul de Groot, General Secretary.

2) Jacob Wolfe, member of the Presidium and member of the Central Committee.

3) Tyalle Jager, member of the Central Committee.

4) Toin de Frees, member of the Central Committee.

Netherland

U.S.S.R.

LI) SOCIALIST PARTY OF NICARAGUA

1) X, General Secretary.

The source does not know the identity of the delegate.

LII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

1) Victor D. Wilcox, General Secretary of the National Committee.

2) George E. Jackson, Chairman of the National Committee.

N.Z

U.S.S.R.

~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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(U)

LIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

1) Just Lippe, Vice President and a Secretary of the Central Committee, and head of the delegation.

2) Reidar Larson, member of the Secretariat.

3) Iver Lee, member of the Secretariat.

NORWAY  
USSR.

LIV) PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

2 X Staff.

1) Chairman.

2) General Secretary.

The source identified the chairman as Hugo Alejandro Victor Escala, also known as Hugo Victor. The source does not know the identity of the General Secretary.

LV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

1) Member X of the Central Committee.

2) One X responsible Party functionary.

The source does not know the identities of these delegates.

LVI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF PARAGUAY

1) General Secretary X

2) One X member of the Central Committee.

The source does not know the identities of these delegates.

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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~~SECRET~~

(U)

LVII) POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

1) Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary and head of  
the delegation.

2) Joseph Stsinankivich, member of the Politburo.

3) Zenon Kliszko, member of the Politburo.

4) Edward Ochab, member of the Politburo.

5) Ostap Dlusski, member of the Central Committee.

6) Andrezej Werblan, member of the Central Committee.

7) Joseph Tshesak, candidate member of the Central  
Committee.

8) Arthur Starevich, member of the Central Committee.

LVIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL

1) De Soza Abiho.

Portugal

Russia

LIX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF REUNION

(An Island Off the Coast of Africa)

1) Paul Verges, a Secretary of the Central Committee  
and head of the delegation.

Reunion

Russia

LX) RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

1) Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the  
Central Committee and head of the delegation.

2) Peter Borila, member of the Politburo.

Rumania  
Russia

~~SECRET~~

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~~(S)~~ (U)

LXI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF SALVADOR

- 1) X, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The source does not know the identity of this delegate.

LXII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF SAN MARINO

- 1) Gessep ~~X~~ Fabbri, member of the leadership.

San Marino  
Russia

LXIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF SYRIA

- 1) Khaled ~~X~~ Bakdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

Syria  
Russia

LXIV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (CPSU)

- 1) Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

- 2) Leonid I. ~~X~~ Brezhnev, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee.

- 3) Frol R. ~~X~~ Kozlov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU).

- 4) Otto V. ~~X~~ Kuusinen, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

U.S.S.R

- 5) Anastas E. ~~X~~ Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the CCCPSU.

- 6) Nuritdin A. ~~X~~ Mukhitdinov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

- 7) Mikhail A. ~~X~~ Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

- 8) Pyotr N. ~~X~~ Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium.

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LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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(U)

9) Boris N. Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee.

10) N.V. Andropov, head of a Department of the Central Committee.

U.S.S.R.

11) L.F. Ilyichev, member of the Central Committee, and Inspection and Verification (Review) Commission.

LXV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES (CP, USA)

1) Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,

2) James Jackson,

3) Morris Childs,

4) Mickey Lima,

5) James Allen,

6) Helen Winter,

U.S  
Russia

The source advised that all of the above are members of the National Committee of the CP, USA. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

LXVI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF THAILAND

1) Protcha, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

2) Hurb, member of the Politburo.

3) Sak, candidate member of the Central Committee.

Thailand  
U.S.S.R.

It is the opinion of the source that all of the above are pseudonyms, however, the source does not know the identities of these delegates. ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES WHO  
ATTENDED THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~SECRET~~

(U)

LXVII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF TUNISIA

1) Mohammed Ennafaa, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Mohammed Harmehl, Assistant First Secretary.

TUNISIA  
RUSSIA

LXVIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

1) Ismael Marat Beelen, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

TURKEY  
RUSSIA

LXIX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

1) Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary.

2) Alberto Suarez, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

URUGUAY  
RUSSIA

LXX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

1) Ville Pessi, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Mrs. Inkeri Lehtinen, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

FINLAND  
RUSSIA

3) Turre Lehen, member of the Politburo.

4) Armas Heikeya, member of the Politburo.

LXXI) FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

1) Maurice Thorez, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

2) Benuya Frajon, member of the Politburo.

3) Raymond Guyot, member of the Politburo.

4) Janett Vermersh, member of the Politburo.

5) Leo Figere, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

FRANCE  
RUSSIA

~~SECRET~~



LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES WHO  
ATTENDED THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~SECRET~~

~~(S)~~ (U)

- 6) George Konoh, member of the Central Committee. France  
7) John Kanapa, member of the Central Committee. Russia

LXXII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF CEYLON

- 1) Sugisvara Abaivordene Vikremasing, Chairman and head of the delegation. Ceylon  
2) Havleas Merenna Mendees, member of the Politburo. Russia  
3) Premalal Kumaraceeri, member of the Central Committee.

LXXIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- 1) Antonin Novotny, First Secretary and head of the delegation. Czech  
2) Rudolph Barak, member of the Politburo. Russia  
3) Vladimir Koitski, a Secretary of the Central Committee.  
4) Joseph Lenart, a Secretary of the Central Committee.  
5) Vatslav Slavik, member of the Central Committee. (S) (U)

LXXIV) COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

- 1) Jose Gonzales, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation. chile  
2) Manuel Cantero, member of the Central Committee. Russia  
3) Roberto Lara, member of the Central Committee.

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES WHO  
ATTENDED THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~SECRET~~

(U)

LXXV) SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

1) Jean Vincent, member of the Leading Committee,  
a Secretary and head of the delegation.

Switz  
Russia

2) Franz Lubi, member of the Leadership Committee of  
the Central Committee.

LXXVI) COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

1) Hilding Hagberg, Chairman of the Central Committee  
and head of the delegation.

Sweden  
Russia

2) Eric Carlsson, member of the Politburo.

3) Knut Hulsson, member of the Politburo.

LXXVII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

1) Enrike Hilbert Hill, a Secretary of the Central  
Committee and head of the delegation.

Ecuador  
Russia

2) Mario Jose Rohura, member of the Central  
Committee.

LXXVIII) COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNION  
OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staff of Chairman and 3 X members of the Central  
Committee.

The source does not know the identities of these  
delegates.

LXXIX) COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

1) Satomi Hakamada, member of the Presidium, a  
Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Japan  
Russia

~~SECRET~~

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES WHO  
ATTENDED THE NOVEMBER, 1960  
MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

~~SECRET~~

~~(S)~~ (U)

- 2) Itary Yionehara, member of the Secretariat.
- 3) Tomio Nishizawa, Assistant Department Head of  
the Central Committee.

Japan  
Russia

The source advised that only 79 Parties were listed although it was announced that 81 Parties were represented. The source does not know the identities of the two Parties which were not listed. ~~(S)~~ (U)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

December 30, 1960

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy  
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I believe you will be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

In August, 1960, information was developed concerning the deep-seated dispute between the CPC and the CPSU which erupted at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in June, 1960, in Bucharest, Rumania, and the Conference of Communist Parties which immediately followed. The Central Committee of the CPSU issued at that time a letter dated June 21, 1960, concerning this matter. The CPC is known to have set out its position in this ideological dispute in a letter dated September 10, 1960, directed to the CPSU.

Our source has advised that the CPSU in a letter dated November 5, 1960, issued a stern condemnation of the CPC in answer to the CPC letter of September 10, 1960. The Russian letter was made available to the delegations present at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, from the first week in November to the first week in December, 1960.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

DELIVERED BY C. A. EVANS

DATE

JWL:kmo

(6)

63 JAN 9 1961

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE THREE

DEC 30 5 18 PM '60

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy

The essence of this Russian document is that China is warned it bears full responsibility for undermining the unity of world communism in the face of its worst enemy, the United States of America. Peaceful coexistence is defined to China as being against both local wars and a world war; however, revolutionary wars of liberation are held by Russia to be permissible and inevitable. To prevent war, Russia relies on the political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union along with its socialist camp and on the increasing urge for peace as shown by hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries. The CPC is accused of not understanding that the Russian demand for disarmament along with the demand to liquidate the colonial system and to dismantle war bases on foreign territories weakens the oppressor.

This document also outlines in considerable detail the Russian economic assistance given to China. Russia denies that assistance is used as a means of exerting pressure. Soviet technicians were withdrawn from China because the Chinese attempted to foist their views upon them, because unfriendly acts were committed against the specialists and because some of their proposals were ignored. Russia charges that the Chinese also ignored technical advice which resulted in the wreckage of machinery and equipment.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

I have made available complete details contained in the Russian document to appropriate Government intelligence agencies.

Sincerely,

(Unclassified)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize our highly placed informant CG 5824-S\* and would result in causing considerable grave danger to our national defense. Information contained in New York airtel dated 12-20-60 entitled "Solo, IS-C."

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 12/19/60

REC-59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AM-RM (RRR)  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau five copies, and to the Chicago Division, one copy, of a letterhead memorandum containing observations and comments on the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAS JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on December 17 and 18, 1960.

(Unclassified)

The letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "Secret"~~ and "Washington, D. C.," is reflected as the place where it was issued in compliance with instructions contained in Bulet dated 11/2/60.

- 3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encl. 5) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) ((Encl. 1) (AM-RM) (RRR)  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

JEK:msb  
 (7)

Memo Bureau, to Bureau  
 12/21/60  
 JWL:K mo

3adelaclate made for dissemination  
 REC-59 100-428091-1068

AGENCY STATE, CIA, ONE, ONE, 6.6  
 REQ. REC'D  
 DATE FORW. 12-21-60  
 HOW FORW. 4/3  
 BY JWC/beam

DEC 20 1960

cc: B.E. Maund  
 C.C. Wick

ENCLOSURE  
 68 JAN 4 1961

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

REC.  
 1068



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

~~SECRET~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
December 19, 1960

~~REC-59~~

Re: Observations and Comments on the  
Ideological Dispute between the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
and the Communist Party of China

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is in a position to speak authoritatively, has furnished the following observations and comments on the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Only two or three days before the conclusion of the meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, it appeared that the CPSU and the CPC would not reach any agreement. The CPC was surprised by the fact that it received little support for its viewpoint at the meeting in Moscow. Only the Communist Party of Albania gave the CPC solid support at all times. Not one Communist Party in the Western Hemisphere or in Africa supported the viewpoint of the CPC. The CPC received support from the Communist Parties of Thailand and Malaya on the need for militant or non-peaceful revolutions. The Communist Parties of North Korea, Japan, Viet Nam, and Australia supported the CPC to the extent that they argued for softer language in certain sections of the Declaration or Statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, insofar as the language was, or seemed to be, an indictment of the CPC, and thus might widen the ~~breach~~ breach between the CPSU and the CPC. The Communist Parties of India and Ceylon supported the viewpoint of the CPSU.

There was a two-month debate in Moscow on the main

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1065

~~SECRET~~

Re: Observations and Comments on the  
Ideological Dispute between the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
and the Communist Party of China

theoretical propositions resulting from the 20th Congress of the CPSU. These propositions are: (A) That there is no fatal inevitability of war, and (B) that revolutions do not always have to use force and violence; that peaceful revolutions become more and more possible as socialism advances in the world.

No real concessions were made to the CPC on these propositions. However, agreement was finally reached in Moscow by giving concessions to the CPC up to a point. Not to have given concessions, would have meant an irrevocable split between the CPC and the CPSU. The position of the CPC was that there has been a vacuum since the death of V. I. Lenin. The CPC wanted to revive Stalinism as a step toward making Mao Tse-tung the leader of international communism. The Chinese have a long-term perspective and will try to win the Communist Parties in the international communist movement to their side, with Mao Tse-tung, the Chairman of the CPC, as the leader.

The Chinese are tough negotiators and wear everyone down in the debates. They may wear everyone down in the future, but at the two meetings in Moscow in October and November, 1960, each of four weeks' duration, they were shocked because they did not get more support for their viewpoints. On the other hand, the CPSU now realizes that it has to pay more attention to the fraternal Communist Parties and have better relationships with them.

Ideological concessions were made to the CPC in order to present to the world a show of unity and to provide a truce with the aim of ironing out the remaining differences in the future, in one form or another.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

Re: Observations and Comments on the  
Ideological Dispute between the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
and the Communist Party of China

Ideological concessions made to the CPC were:

- 1) Cutting down the section of the Declaration or Statement which dealt with Stalin's cult of the personality.
- 2) Leaving out a statement to the effect that the 21st Congress of the CPSU had world-wide significance.
- 3) Sharpening the attack on the Yugoslav revisionists. In this regard, the CPSU and Communist Parties in Western Europe wanted to compromise their differences with the League of Yugoslav Communists, but the CPC would not agree to this.
- 4) Omitting from the Statement or Declaration a definition of "national communism." The definition was ostensibly intended to apply to the situation in Yugoslavia, but was actually aimed at China. The representatives of the CPC stated that the term, "national communism," was created by the bourgeoisie and it is really aimed at the CPC. The CPC was willing to have the Declaration deal with bourgeois nationalism, but not with "national communism."
- 5) A change in regard to the question of factionalism and groupings in the international communist movement. The original draft of the Declaration cited the need for strict adherence to international decisions arrived at in conferences of the international communist movement. This was a general condemnation of the CPC for factionalism and group activity. In the final statement, there is no condemnation of factionalism, and in its stead, there is an appeal for unity in the international communist movement.

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Re: Observations and Comments on the  
Ideological Dispute between the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
and the Communist Party of China

- 6) In the section dealing with revisionism and the right danger and with dogmatism and sectarianism, there was some toning down of the emphasis on dogmatism and sectarianism.
- 7) In various parts of the Declaration, there was a sharpening of the language. The term, "United States imperialism," was added in several places as a result of CPC pressure.

*Handwritten: Teng Hsiao-ping*  
Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the CPC, was the main spokesman for the CPC at the two meetings, each of four weeks' duration, which were held in Moscow in October and from the first full week in November into the first week of December, 1960.

*Handwritten: Liu Shao-chi*  
Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, did not speak at the meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November and December, 1960.

Teng Hsiao-ping told Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium of the CPSU, that the CPC cannot make a sudden shift in its line. The discussion of ideological differences between the CPC and the CPSU has penetrated all levels of the CPC. Teng Hsiao-ping told Suslov that it may take the CPC three to four, or more, months to bring about a change in the attitude of members of the CPC and the people in China toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union. *Russia*

In the opinion of leading personalities in several Communist Parties, who attended the meetings in Moscow, the Chinese, in the future, will demand material concessions from the Russians. The unknown factor at this time is the reaction of Mao Tse-tung to the Statement or Declaration issued in Moscow on December 6, 1960, at the conclusion of the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Chinese gloat over every

~~SECRET~~

11-10-60

~~SECRET~~

Re: Observations and Comments on the  
Ideological Dispute between the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
and the Communist Party of China

setback to Soviet foreign policy. Future events in Asia and Africa may strengthen the hand of the Chinese in their dealings with the Russians.

The Russians will wait to see what the Chinese do in the future. In the meantime, the Russians will emphasize the need for unity in the international communist movement. At the same time, leaders of the CPSU suggested privately to some of the delegates, who were in Moscow, that other leaders in their respective Communist Parties should be made aware of the differences between the CPSU and the CPC. This could be an indication that the leaders of the CPSU have some doubt about the future intentions of the CPC.

Most Communist Party leaders throughout the world agree that some of the differences between the CPC and the CPSU, or between China and the Soviet Union, can only be resolved on a state-to-state or government-to-government level. There is little doubt that some negotiations will take place, but no negotiations between China and the Soviet Union have been initiated as yet. It is also the general opinion of Communist Party leaders throughout the world that only Mao Tse-tung can commit the CPC and China to any agreements.

Speeches made by Liu Shao-chi in Leningrad and Moscow after the conclusion of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in December, 1960, were designed by the leadership of the CPSU to be a demonstration of unity for the Soviet public and to get the Chinese committed to unity. However, the speeches of Liu Shao-chi were brief, not enthusiastic, and formal in style.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 12/28/60

~~EX-92~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*Bryan  
Moffatt*

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau, 7 copies and the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum concerning the identity of the person in charge of the English speaking countries of the African Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/27/60.

(Unclassified)

The letterhead memorandum has been ~~classified~~ "secret" and reflects "Washington, D.C." as the place where prepared in accordance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60. Also, the information is not known to all members of the CP, USA delegation to the November meeting in Moscow, Russia.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)
- 100-134637 (SOLO)
- 1 - Chicago
- JEK:jem
- (5)

GALE

100-428091-1005

REC-92

9 JAN 4 1961

ENCLOSURE

EX 100

*Attended*

CIA Sub

ONI, OSI, G-2  
3-jan

AGENCY STATE, CIA, ONI, OSI, G-2  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FORW. 12-30-60  
HOW FORW. 2/3  
BY 146/bem

51 JAN 11 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File **100-428091**

Washington, D. C.  
December 28, 1960

~~SECRET~~

IDENTITY OF PERSON IN CHARGE OF  
THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES OF  
THE AFRICAN SECTION OF THE INTER-  
NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION (CCCPSU)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, stated in November, 1960, that Yuri Ivanov, formerly a translator in the International Department of the CCCPSU, is currently in charge of the English speaking countries in the African Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

100-428091-1069

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 23, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Branigan  
1 - Mr. Donahoe  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

Tolson  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Callahan  
DeLoach  
Malone  
McGuire  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

CG 5824-S\*, who has just returned from Moscow, Russia, from his eighth SOLO mission, has made available almost the complete text of a letter which was written by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) dated 11-5-60. This highly secret letter is a response to a letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC) dated 9-10-60. Our informant copied it after midnight each night, and transported the notes to the United States in a hidden pocket of his trousers. This is a highly important document which sets forth the entire details of the apparently unresolved Sino-Soviet dispute. No other Government agencies are in possession of this document at this time.

Condemnation of the CPC

The CPSU condemns in the letter the CPC for open discussions of their differences which got in the world press. It is cited that in 1958 and 1959 Khrushchev went in person to Peking, China, and held discussions on issues with MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, in order to resolve differences. The CPC letter of 9-10-60 is called uncomradely, high-strung, overbearing and fully ignores the arguments of the CPSU. Russia complains that the CPC letter made slanderous charges against the CPSU which were based on fabrications. China is warned they bear full responsibility for undermining the unity of communists in the face of their worst common enemy "international imperialism led by the United States of America."

Exposure of Stalin

The exposure of Stalin, which the Chinese dislike, was reiterated in the letter by the CPSU as being justified and necessary. Russia refers to Lenin's "will" which suggested that Stalin be removed due to dangers of concentrated authority in Stalin's hands and which suggested appointing someone more talented, more loyal, more polite and considerate and less capricious. Loss of Russian lives is attributed to Stalin's errors. Russia claims they do not believe in exterminating personnel but believe in convincing those who disagree.

100-428091

JWL:had  
(7)

Enclosures

EX-134  
REC-27  
100-428091-1070  
5 JAN 4 1961  
SENT DIRECTOR  
FOR APPROVAL  
12-23-60

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

### Peace and War

The CPSU emphasizes to the Chinese that they are against fatalism and passivity in questions of war and peace. The Marxist-Leninist approach is said to be aimed at rallying the peoples for the struggle of preventing war. China is told that peaceful coexistence should fight both against local wars and a world war. Russia points out, however, that revolutionary wars of liberation by colonial peoples are an entirely different matter and such wars are held permissible and inevitable, as in Algeria.

To prevent war, Russia claims they rely on the political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union as well as the entire socialist camp and on the increasing urge for peace as shown by hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries. China is told that with the right policy, the rift between the various capitalist countries can be deepened to the advantage of communists. China is admonished for advocating that after a thermonuclear war the victorious people could rapidly create upon the ruins of imperialism a better civilization. The idea of "socializing the world" by means of atomic war is not the world communist line and Russia insists that the masses cannot be appealed to with such incorrect ideas.

### Disarmament

China is told that Russia's demands for disarmament, along with the demand to liquidate the so-called colonial system and dismantle war bases on foreign territories, are designed to weaken the oppressors. The failure of China to understand the intended meaning of disarmament is cited as the reason for the dispute on this point.

### Transition of Various Countries to Socialism

The CPSU letter states that when socialism wins superiority over capitalism in world production and achieves a higher standard of living for the working population, the force of attraction to the communist ideas will grow immensely. The socialist system can then prevent counterrevolutions in countries that are in revolt for freedom. Russia claims these possibilities equip the masses with a powerful weapon and do not immobilize them as asserted by the CPC.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

### Unity of Communist Parties of the World

China is charged with voicing a desire to promote unity but not supporting this by deeds. Articles circulated abroad through the Chinese press are pointed to as being evidence of China's repeated efforts to work behind the back of comrades in an effort to undermine unity. China is told to respect the opinion of the majority. The CPC is cited as considering their views to be the only correct ones.

### Relations Between USSR and Communist China

Russia points out the vast economic assistance given to China by providing the means to build a number of manufacturing plants. Russia is irritated over the pretention of the Chinese that the economic and technical assistance given them is used as a means of exerting pressure. Russia claims that many of the highly qualified specialists sent to China were badly needed in the Soviet Union whereas the raw materials and goods sent to Russia were not important to the Soviet economy.

Russia was forced to withdraw specialists because the Chinese began to work among the Soviet specialists to foist their ideological views upon them in an effort to set them against the CPSU. Also, unfriendly acts were committed against the specialists and many of their proposals were ignored. Chinese refusal to be taught modern methods resulted in a turbogeneration plant being built which in half a year would not operate. By constantly ignoring technical advice, machinery and installations provided for the Chinese resulted in wreckage and major accidents.

The letter of the CPSU to the CPC concludes by stating that the Soviet Union desires to work in complete unity with the people of China.

### OBSERVATIONS:

Our informant has scored again in providing us with an extremely important Soviet document.

Appropriate intelligence agencies of our Government will be able to more accurately assess the coming developments of the Sino-Soviet dispute after a careful analysis of the Soviet document which we obtained.



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

ACTION:

There is attached for your approval a succinct resume of the Soviet document for dissemination to Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State; and the Attorney General.

We are also sending letters under ~~"Top Secret"~~ (Unclassified) classification transmitting full details of the document as obtained by our informant to Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency, Office of Naval Intelligence, Office of Special Investigations (Air Force), and Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Army).

*ju2*

*V. K. McC*  
*12/23*

*GK*  
*H*

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Attorney General

December 23, 1960

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

I believe you will be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

My letter of August 5, 1960, furnished you with information concerning the deep-seated dispute between the CPC and the CPSU which erupted at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in June, 1960, in Bucharest, Rumania, and the Conference of Communist Parties which immediately followed. The Central Committee of the CPSU issued at that time a letter dated June 21, 1960, concerning this matter. The CPC is known to have set out their position in this ideological dispute in a letter dated September 10, 1960, directed to the CPSU.

Our source has advised that the CPSU in a letter dated November 5, 1960, issued a stern condemnation of the CPC in answer to the CPC letter of September 10, 1960. The Russian letter was made available to the delegations present at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, from the first week in November to the first week in December, 1960.

100-3-81

100-428091-1070

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Attorney General

The essence of this Russian document is that China is warned they bear full responsibility for undermining the unity of world communism in the face of their worst enemy, the United States of America. Peaceful coexistence is defined to China as being against both local wars and a world war; however, revolutionary wars of liberation are held by Russia to be permissible and inevitable. To prevent war, Russia relies on the political economy and military might of the Soviet Union along with its socialist camp and on the increasing urge for peace as shown by hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries. The CPC is accused of not understanding that the Russian demand for disarmament along with the demand to liquidate the colonial system and to dismantle war bases on foreign territories weakens the oppressor.

This document also outlines in considerable detail the economic assistance given to China. Russia denies that assistance is used as a means of exerting pressure. Soviet technicians were withdrawn from China because the Chinese attempted to foist their views upon them, because unfriendly acts were committed against the specialists and because some of their proposals were ignored. Russia charges that the Chinese also ignored technical advice which resulted in the wreckage of machinery and equipment.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is being disseminated to the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President, and the Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State. I am also furnishing complete details of the Russian document to appropriate Government intelligence agencies.

1 - Mr. Lawrence E. Walsh  
Deputy Attorney General

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The Attorney General

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize our highly placed informant, CG 5824-S\* and would result in causing considerable grave danger to our national defense. Information contained in NY airtel dated 12-20-60 entitled "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Belmont dated 12-23-60 captioned "Solo, IS-C," JWL:had.

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- Mr. Parsons  
- Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: January 4, 1961

To: Director  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Enclosed for your information is a list of representatives who attended the October, 1960, meeting and the November, 1960, Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia. This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

During October, 1960, selected representatives of communist and workers' parties served for four weeks on a commission in Moscow for the purpose of preparing a document for the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. This commission was also known as the Editorial Commission. From the first week in November to the first week in December, 1960, representatives of communist and workers' parties met in Moscow to resolve the ideological differences between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist Party of China. My letter of December 27, 1960, furnished you with the contents of a letter of the CPSU dated November 5, 1960, concerning this dispute.

Our source has been able to provide practically a complete list of parties represented and delegates present at both the meeting in October, 1960, and the Conference in November, 1960, as set forth in the enclosure.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:kmc

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Director  
Central Intelligence Agency

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosure

- 1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure) BY LIAISON
- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure) BY LIAISON  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

- 1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosure)  
Department of the Army *To AC32 1/5/61* BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

NOTE ON YELLOW:

unclassified

This letter and its enclosure are ~~classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant CG 5824-S\* which would result in grave danger to our national defense. Information contained in letterhead memoranda submitted as enclosures to New York airtel dated 12-21-60 and Chicago airtel dated 12-27-60, both entitled "Solo, Internal Security - C."

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1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. LaPrade 1 - Liaison

100-428091

January 4, 1961

**LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES WHO ATTENDED  
THE OCTOBER, 1960, MEETING AND THE  
NOVEMBER, 1960, CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA**

**A. Editorial Commission, Moscow, Russia, October, 1960**

**1. Albanian Party of Labor**

Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Ramiz Aliya, candidate member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Todi Lubonya, member of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Laboring Youth of Albania.

**2. Communist Party of Argentina**

Alberti Gonzales Paulino, member of the Central Committee.

**3. Communist Party of Australia**

Richard Dixon, President of the Central Committee.

Laurence Sharkey, General Secretary.

**4. Communist Party of Brazil**

Mario Alves, member of the Presidium and Central Committee.

**5. Bulgarian Communist Party**

Mitko Grigorov, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Ruben Abramov, member of the Central Committee and Head of the Ideological Department.

Kristto Dobrev, professor of the High Party School and member of the Central Committee.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:km (10)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 22

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6. Communist Party of China (CPC)

TENG Hsiao-p'ing, member of the Politburo, General Secretary of the CPC and head of the delegation.

PENG Chen, member of the Politburo and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

LEE Tsin-tsuan, member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Chuan Province Committee of the CPC.

LU Ting-yi, candidate member of the Politburo, Assistant Head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department and a member of the Central Committee.

KANG Sheng, candidate member of the Politburo.

YEN Shen-kyn, candidate member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Assistant Administrative Head of the Central Committee office.

HU Ch'iao-mu, candidate member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

LI Chen-thsi, member of the Central Committee.

LIU Ning-yi, member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the China Federation of Trade Unions.

7. People's Socialist Party of Cuba

Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

8. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Vladimir Koitski, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Vatslav Slavik, member of the Central Committee and Head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department.

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9. Communist Party of Finland

Ville Pessi, General Secretary.

Mrs. Inkeri Lehtinen, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

10. French Communist Party

Raymond Guyot, member of the Politburo.

Leo Figere, member of the Politburo.

11. Socialist Unity Party of Germany (East Germany)

Hermann Matern, member of the Politburo, Chairman of the Control Commission and head of the delegation.

Herman Aksen, member of the Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of "Neues Deutschland."

Peter Florin, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the International Department.

Berner Eberlyin, member of the Central Committee and Domestic Political Commission.

12. Communist Party of Germany (West Germany)

Wilhelm Mon, member of the Central Committee and Politburo.

Joseph Shleifshtein, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

13. Communist Party of Great Britain

George Matthews, member of the Politburo and Chief Editor of the London "Daily Worker."

14. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Dezhe Nemesh, member of the Politburo and Central Committee, Editor-in-Chief of "Nepsabadshag," organ of the Party.

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15. Communist Party of India

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary.

16. Communist Party of Indonesia

Joseph Adjiotrop, candidate member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

17. Communist Party of Italy

Enrico Berlinguer, member of the leadership of the Central Committee.

Juliano Payetta, member of the Central Committee.

18. Communist Party of Japan

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary.

Satomi Hakamada, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Itary Yionehara, member of the Secretariat.

19. Workers' Party of Korea

LEE He-soon, member of the Presidium, Vice President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

PAK En-gook, member of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department.

TSOI Hi-den, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the International Department.

TEN Dun-ghee, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department.

20. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

L. Tsend, member of the Politburo, Second Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

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B. Szargalsaihan, member of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department.

B. Sosorbarma, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Foreign Affairs Minister.

Tse Puntsagnorov, Head of the Education - Cultural Department and member of the Central Committee.

21. Polish United Workers' Party

Zenon Kiszko, member of the Politburo, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Andrezej Werblan, member of the Central Committee and Head of the Educational Department of the Central Committee.

22. Rumanian Workers' Party

Peter Borila, member of the Politburo, Assistant President of the Council of Ministers and head of the delegation.

Stephan Voiku, member of the Central Committee and Editor of the magazine, "Lupte de Klasse."

Constantine Lazaresku, candidate for the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the International Department of the Central Committee.

23. Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

Mikhail A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU).

Frol R. Kozlov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

Nuritdin A. Mukhitdinov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium.

Boris N. Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee.

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N. V. Andropov, head of a department of the Central Committee.

L. F. Ilyichev, member of the Central Committee and Inspection and Verification (Review) Commission.

24. Communist Party of Syria

Khaled Bakdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

25. Working People's Party of Viet Nam

LE Zyan, member of the Politburo, First Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

CHANG Teen, member of the Politburo and Chairman of the People's Assembly of Viet Nam.

NGUEN Ti-thane, member of the Politburo and Head of the Political Department of the People's Army of Viet Nam.

B. Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, Russia, November, 1960

1. Albanian Party of Labor

Enver Hoxha, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Mehmet Shehu, member of the Politburo.

Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Ramiz Aliya, candidate member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

2. Communist Party of Algeria

Larbi Bouhali, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Hamid Abdel Bydiaf, member of the Central Committee.

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3. Communist Party of Argentina

Rudolfo Ghioldi.

Alberti Gonzales Paulino, member of the Central Committee.

The wife of Alberti Gonzales Paulino.

4. Communist Party of Australia

Laurence (Lance Louis) Sharkey, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

Richard Dixon, President of the Central Committee.

5. Communist Party of Austria

Johann Koplenig, President and head of the delegation.

Friedle Feurenberg, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

Erwin Shilling-Tsukker, member of the Central Committee.

6. Communist Party of Belgium

Ernest Burnelle, National Secretary and head of the delegation.

Jean Blume, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Branden Van Dan Fran, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

7. Communist Party of Bolivia

Two members of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

8. Communist Party of Brazil

Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

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Joakim Ramara Ferreira, member of the Central Committee.

9. Bulgarian Communist Party

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Anton Yugov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

Dimitr Ganev, member of the Politburo.

Vilko Tshervenko, member of the Politburo.

Mitko Grigorov, Secretary of the Central Committee.

Ruben Abramov, member of the Central Committee.

Luben Gerasimov, member of the Central Committee.

10. Communist Party of Burma

HO Khin, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

DEEN Min, member of the Politburo.

LWEEN Tint, member of the Central Committee.

11. Communist Party of Canada

Tim Buck, General Secretary.

William Kashtan, member of the National Executive Committee.

Leslie Morris, member of the National Executive Committee.

12. Communist Party of Ceylon

Sugisvara Abaiyordene Vikremasing, Chairman and head of the delegation.

Havlees Merenna Mendees, member of the Politburo.

Premalal Kumaraceeri, member of the Central Committee.

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13. Communist Party of Chile

Jose Gonzales, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Manuel Cantero, member of the Central Committee.

Roberto Lara, member of the Central Committee.

14. Communist Party of China

LIU Shao-chi, Assistant Chairman of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo.

TENG Hsiao-p'ing, General Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo.

PENG Chen, member of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

LI Chin-chuan, member of the Politburo.

LU Ting-yi, candidate member of the Politburo.

KANG Sheng, candidate member of the Politburo.

YANG Shang-kun, candidate member of the Secretariat.

HU Ch'iao-mu, candidate member of the Secretariat.

LIU Hsiao, member of the Central Committee.

LIAO Cheng-chih, member of the Central Committee.

15. Communist Party of Colombia

Gilberto Vieira, Political Secretary.

Luis Marentes, member of the National Executive Committee.

Jose Oios Cardona, member of the Central Committee.

16. The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

Manuel Valverde Mora, President of the National Executive Committee and head of the delegation.

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Adan Senteno Guevara, member of the National Executive Committee.

17. People's Socialist Party of Cuba

Delunde Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Garcia Manuel Luzardo, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Luis Jose Gonzales, member of the Central Committee.

Arnaldo Milian, candidate member of the National Executive Committee.

18. The Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary.

19. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Antonin Novotny, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Rudolph Barak, member of the Politburo.

Vladimir Koltski, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Joseph Lenart, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Vatslav Slavik, member of the Central Committee.

20. Communist Party of Denmark

Knut Jespersen, President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Ib. Nohrlund, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

21. Dominican People's Socialist Party

Two members of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

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22. Communist Party of Ecuador

Enrike Hilbert Hill, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Mario Jose Rohura, member of the Central Committee.

23. Communist Party of Finland

Ville Pessi, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

Mrs. Inkeri Lehtinen, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Turre Lehen, member of the Politburo.

Armas Heikeeya, member of the Politburo.

24. French Communist Party

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

Benuya Frajon, member of the Politburo.

Raymond Guyot, member of the Politburo.

Janett Vermersh, member of the Politburo.

Leo Figere, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

George Konoh, member of the Central Committee.

John Kanapa, member of the Central Committee.

25. Socialist Unity Party of Germany (East Germany)

Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Otto Grotewohl, member of the Politburo.

Hermann Matern, member of the Politburo.

Bruno Leishner, member of the Politburo.

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Heinrich Rau, member of the Politburo.

Herman Aksent, member of the Central Committee.

26. Communist Party of Germany (West Germany)

Max Reimann, First Secretary.

Wilhelm Hon, a Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo.

Joseph Ledvon, member of the Politburo.

Oscar Noiman, candidate member of the Politburo.

Joseph Shleifshtein, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

27. Communist Party of Great Britain

John Gollan, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

Ross John Campbell, member of the Politburo.

George Matthews, member of the Politburo and Editor-in-Chief of the London "Daily Worker."

Annie Powell, member of the Central Committee.

28. Communist Party of Greece

Apostolos Grozos, President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Dimitros Partsalidis, member of the Politburo.

Kostas Koliyannis, member of the Politburo.

29. Communist Party of Guadeloupe

Serge Pierre-Justin, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Juhl Briazel, member of the Politburo.

Berten-Denin Koteillon, member of the Politburo.

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30. Guatemala Party of Labor

A Secretary of the Central Committee and one other delegate (identities unknown).

31. Peoples' Unity Party of Haiti

Secretary of the Central Committee and National Council and one other delegate (identities unknown).

32. Communist Party of Honduras

First Secretary of the Central Committee and a candidate member of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

33. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Janos Kadar, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Gyula Kallai, member of the Politburo.

Dezhe Nemesh, member of the Politburo.

Geza Reves, member of the Central Committee.

34. United Socialist Party of Iceland

Einar Olgeirsson, President and head of the delegation.

Heiolfur Christian Andersson, candidate member of the Politburo.

35. Communist Party of India

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

Amrit Shripat Dange, member of the National Executive Committee and the National Council.

Shankaran Mana Elankulath Namboodiripad, member of the National Executive Committee and the National Council.

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Bhupesh Hupta, a Secretary of the National Council.

P. Ramamyrthi, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the National Council.

36. Communist Party of Indonesia

M. H. Lukman, First Assistant President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Joseph Adjlotrop, a Secretary of the Central Committee and a candidate member of the Politburo.

37. People's Party of Iran

Reza Radmanesh, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Iradz Iskanderi, a Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

Echsan Tabari, member of the National Executive Committee.

Yaeya Golyom Daneshyan, a member of the National Executive Committee and the President of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party.

38. Communist Party of Iraq

A staff of five consisting of three members of the Politburo and two members of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

39. Workers' League of Ireland

Sean Nolan, President.

40. Communist Party of Northern Ireland

Sean Murray, Secretary of the National Executive Committee and head of the delegation.

Hugh Moor, General Secretary.

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41. Communist Party of Israel

Samuel Mikunis, General Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Tohufik Tubi, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Esther Wilenskaya, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

42. Communist Party of Italy

Luigi Longo, Assistant General Secretary.

Mario Alicata, member of the leadership of the Central Committee.

Enrico Berlinguer, member of the leadership of the Central Committee.

Piero Germano, member of the Central Committee.

Luciano Gruppi, member of the Central Committee.

Juliano Payetta, member of the Central Committee.

43. Communist Party of Japan

Satomi Hakamada, member of the Presidium, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Itary Yionehara, member of the Secretariat.

Tomio Nishizawa, Assistant Department Head of the Central Committee.

44. Jordan Communist Party

General Secretary of the Central Committee and a candidate member of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

45. The Korean Party of Labor

KIM Ir-sen, member of the Presidium and head of the delegation.

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MON Chan-kim, member of the Presidium and Assistant President of the Central Committee.

LEE He-soon, member of the Presidium and Assistant President of the Central Committee.

PAK En-gook, member of the Central Committee.

YI Song-un, member of the Central Committee.

46. Communist Party of Lebanon

Hassan Korertem, Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Nicholas Shawi, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Savaya Savaya, member of the Central Committee.

47. Communist Party of Luxembourg

Dominique Urbany, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

John Keel, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Arthur Hoozeldinger, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

48. Communist Party of Malaya

Member of the Politburo and head of the delegation (identity unknown).

VEN Lin, member of the Central Committee.

FAN It-liu, member of the Central Committee.

49. Communist Party of Martinique

Camille Silvestre, Political Secretary of the Central Committee.

Victor Liyamon, member of the Politburo.

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50. Communist Party of Mexico

Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, member of the Central Committee.

Manuel Terrazas Guerrero, member of the Central Committee.

51. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Umjagin Tsedenbal, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Demchigin Molomszants, member of the Politburo.

Bayorie Szargalsaihan, member of the Central Committee.

52. Communist Party of Morocco

Ali Yata, General Secretary.

Laiyashi, member of the Politburo.

53. Communist Party of Nepal

Dzang Keshar Rameeandgee, General Secretary and head of the delegation.

Kamar Shach, member of the Politburo.

Ram Shambu Shrestha, member of the Central Committee.

Hikmat Singh, member of the Central Committee.

Radj Krishna Verma, member of the Central Committee.

54. Communist Party of the Netherlands

Paul de Groot, General Secretary.

Jacob Wolfe, member of the Presidium and member of the Central Committee.

Tyalle Jager, member of the Central Committee.

Toin de Frees, member of the Central Committee.

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55. Communist Party of New Zealand

Victor D. Wilcox, General Secretary of the National Committee.

George E. Jackson, Chairman of the National Committee.

56. Socialist Party of Nicaragua

General Secretary (identity unknown).

57. Communist Party of Norway

Just Lippe, Vice President and a Secretary of the Central Committee, and head of the delegation.

Reidar Larson, member of the Secretariat.

Iver Lee, member of the Secretariat.

58. People's Party of Panama

Hugo Alejandro Victor Escala, also known as Hugo Victor, Chairman; and the General Secretary whose identity is unknown.

59. Communist Party of Paraguay

General Secretary and one member of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

60. Communist Party of Peru

Member of the Central Committee and one responsible Party functionary (identities unknown).

61. Polish United Workers' Party

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Joseph Stsinankivich, member of the Politburo.

Zenon Kliszko, member of the Politburo.

Edward Ochab, member of the Politburo.

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Ostap Dlusski, member of the Central Committee.

Andrezej Werblan, member of the Central Committee.

Joseph Tshesak, candidate member of the Central Committee.

Arthur Starevich, member of the Central Committee.

62. Communist Party of Portugal

De Soza Abiho.

63. Communist Party of Reunion (An Island Off the Coast of Africa)

Paul Verges, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

64. Rumanian Workers' Party

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Peter Borila, member of the Politburo.

65. Communist Party of Salvador

General Secretary of the Central Committee (identity unknown).

66. Communist Party of San Marino

Gessepi Fabbri, member of the leadership.

67. Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Leonid I. Brezhnev, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee.

Frol R. Kozlov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU).

Otto V. Kuusinen, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

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Anastas E. Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the CCCPSU.

Nuritdin A. Mukhitdinov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

Mikhail A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium.

Boris N. Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee.

N. V. Andropov, head of a department of the Central Committee.

L. F. Ilyichev, member of the Central Committee and Inspection and Verification (Review) Commission.

68. Communist Party of Spain

Dolores Ibarruri, President.

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary.

Henrico Lister, member of the National Executive Committee.

69. Communist Party of Sweden

Hilding Hagberg, Chairman of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Eric Carlsson, member of the Politburo.

Knut Hulsson, member of the Politburo.

70. Swiss Party of Labor

Jean Vincent, member of the Leading Committee, a Secretary and head of the delegation.

Franz Lubi, member of the Leadership Committee of the Central Committee.

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71. Communist Party of Syria

Khaled Bakdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

72. Communist Party of Thailand

Protcha, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

Hurb, member of the Politburo.

Sak, candidate member of the Central Committee.

(Pseudonyms, identities unknown)

73. Communist Party of Tunisia

Mohammed Ennafaa, First Secretary and head of the delegation.

Mohammed Harmehl, Assistant First Secretary,

74. Communist Party of Turkey

Ismael (Marat) Beelen, member of the Politburo and head of the delegation.

75. Communist Party of the Union of South Africa

Staff of Chairman and three members of the Central Committee (identities unknown).

76. Communist Party of Uruguay

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary.

Alberto Suarez, member of the National Executive Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

77. Communist Party of Venezuela

Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

- 21 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

78. Workers' Party of Viet Nam

HO Chi-minh, President and head of the delegation.

LE Zyan, member of the Politburo and the First Secretary.

NGUEN Ti-thane, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

HUI Kuang-chan, candidate member of the Central Committee.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

This letter and its enclosure are ~~classified~~ "Top Secret" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons may tend to identify our highly placed informant CG 5824-S\* which would result in grave danger to our national defense. Information contained in letterhead memoranda submitted as enclosures to New York airtel dated 12-21-60 and Chicago airtel dated 12-27-60, both entitled "Solo, Internal Security - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

January 9, 1961

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. LaPrade  
1 - Liaison Section

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum setting out the brusque remarks of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to representatives of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at a banquet in the Kremlin will be of interest to you. The sharp conflict of views between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is reiterated by Khrushchev's letter of December 23, 1960, furnished you with information concerning this ideological dispute between CPC and the CPSU.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is being furnished to Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State; and Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

Enclosure

100-423091

Mr. Charles K. Rice (Enclosure)  
Acting Deputy Attorney General

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize our highly placed informant, CG 3324-S\*, and would result in causing considerable grave danger to our national defense.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM 57 JAN 10 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC'D-READING ROOM

JAN 9 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 6, 1961

**BANQUET HELD IN THE KREMLIN ON OCTOBER 22, 1960,  
AT WHICH NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV ADDRESSED REMARKS  
TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

A banquet was held on the evening of October 22, 1960, in the Hall of the Murals of the Saints in the Kremlin for the Editorial Commission. This Commission consisted of representatives of communist parties and workers' parties who met in Moscow, Russia, during October, 1960, for the purpose of preparing a draft declaration for the November, 1960, Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, also held in Moscow. On October 22, 1960, the Editorial Commission produced a draft declaration which was a revision of a draft presented to this Commission by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on September 30, 1960, at the opening session of the Editorial Commission.

The CPSU arranged this banquet for all representatives who participated in the work of the Editorial Commission. Representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) hoped that the banquet would serve to dull the sharp edges resulting from the clashes in the sessions of the Editorial Commission during the preceding weeks.

Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU, had recently returned from the meeting of the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations and had not participated in any sessions of the Editorial Commission. Obviously, the CPSU had made prior arrangements so that Khrushchev would enter the hall as the delegates from the Communist Party of China (CPC) were entering the hall on October 22, 1960.

Khrushchev embraced TENG Hsiao-p'ing, General Secretary of the CPC, and addressed him as "my old friend." In like manner, Khrushchev greeted the other members of the delegation representing the CPC and addressed K'ANG Sheng, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPC, as "my old friend, the big debater." Khrushchev was attempting to disarm and to quiet the representatives of the CPC in the

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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE FIVE

FFF/JWL:kmo

~~TOP SECRET~~

ORIGINAL ON PLASTIPLATE

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ENCLOSURE

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hope that the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC could be settled informally and quietly. The CPSU wanted to avoid a sharp clash at the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties since such a clash might become known throughout the world.

The total attendance at the banquet was less than 150 people. The attendance was limited to members of the Presidium of the CCCPSU, delegates from the 26 parties who participated in the work of the Editorial Commission and translators who worked with the Editorial Commission.

Nikita S. Khrushchev made several toasts and utilized the occasion for a debate with the representatives of the CPC. Khrushchev made a toast to the success of the Editorial Commission. He drank a toast to the delegates from all the parties present at this banquet. He then made an extemporaneous speech. Khrushchev's remarks, as made available to our source, are as follows:

"I understand that you had some very serious arguments. For example, you argued over whether you should include in the document the phrase 'the leading Party, the CPSU.' Or you argued over whether to include a phrase such as 'with the Soviet Union at the head.' We also understand that you argued about what the Chinese comrades called the 'father-and-son relationship between parties.' What the devil do you need a 'lead party' for? Why do you need the phrase 'led by'? First of all, we are supposed to be materialists and we do not believe in the supernatural. But you want to set up somebody or some personality that is supposed to lead you. What do you want? Are you looking to the creation of a God on earth? Are you trying to create a demigod in the form of the cult of the personality? This is something we just got rid of; Stalin's personality. Or have you some other insidious motive in mind? You, my dear good friend Comrade TENG, should remember that we Russians had proposed to eliminate such phraseology. As far as we are concerned, all fraternal parties are equal. Following our philosophy, we did not preach the elimination of gods from the heavens to create them on earth.

"What do you want a 'head' for? I can surmise why you want it. Maybe you want someone to blame when things go wrong. Blame the 'head.' What do you want a 'head' for? Someone you can 'piss' on? Well, you keep on insisting you want to honor us. Maybe you will say we are the 'head' or the 'leading party' because we are the oldest. No thank you.

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

We want no such honors. This is how you Chinese comrades have set up the 'father-and-son theory.' If we are to obtain our leadership merely on the basis of age, then, of course, we must be prepared to give way to the younger. The older may get the honors but they get tired. Youth must advance.

"If this is what you have in mind, Chinese comrades, keep your honors. If we are in the front; if we are in the lead; it is not only by virtue of age. If we are in the lead, it is because we do new and great things every day.

"I want to emphasize again that we do not want to be designated as the 'head' or 'lead party' or the 'leading government' except insofar as we do things that earn for us something that can be characterized as good or great.

"I just came back, as you know, from the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations. As you know, I was not very welcome in the United States. But I was thinking to myself, why do some of these poor people to whom I have done no wrong, and never meant to injure, sometimes boo me when I travel along the streets of New York?

"In one or two instances, as I was traveling to a meeting of the United Nations, some Negro laborers working on some buildings booed me. Am I an enemy of the Negro people? I began to think and came to the conclusion that there are practical reasons why even the oppressed in the United States, the downtrodden, like the Negroes, do not understand us and think with the mind of the bourgeoisie.

"Maybe some of you gathered here think you are smart and that you are great because you have big communist parties and in some cases you are leaders of governments. Or you think that the Party in the United States or its leadership is not as good as you. You think this is why they have a small Party in the United States or why the working class is not class conscious and is far away from revolution and socialism.

"Let me tell you something that you may not know. The party leadership in the United States is no worse, and I would say in some respects may be better than the leadership of some parties gathered here in this hall. Let me confess something else. Under the circumstances, if I were in the position of any American communist leader, I do not know if I could last two or three days despite my so-called ability.

- 3 -  
~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

"Never leave objective circumstances and conditions that prevail in a certain country out of consideration. You cannot build a communist movement or achieve socialism by an edict, or a mere desire or through the raising of some nice sounding slogans.

"Maybe it is news to you but the American working class has a high standard of living. Even the unemployed, I understand, very often receive in compensation when they are not working, as much as some of the workers in our country and the other socialist countries receive when they are working. It was, therefore, easier for me to understand why the American working class is far away from socialism and why some of them even booed me or are hostile to communism.

"How are you going to convert the working class in the Western World to the ideas of socialism? You cannot feed them phrases no matter how revolutionary they may sound. You cannot expound the virtues of socialism versus capitalism with mere words. We have to compete with capitalism. We have to build, produce and create a living example so that the working man or woman, even in the most developed capitalist country, will see that socialism is superior to capitalism. Until we do that, until even the most simple-minded person can take a look and say, this system of yours, this standard of living, is superior to ours, we will not win the masses of people for socialism in the more advanced capitalist countries. Sectarian impatience and the condemnation of the workers for being 'bribed' by imperialism and because they are not revolutionary enough will accomplish very little for us.

"We need peace. The world needs peace. Perhaps there are some of you here who still do not understand the destructiveness of nuclear warfare and who think that you can play the game of 'Dulles at the brink.'

"I wish I had the power in words to convince you that war is not the solution to our problems. History works in a peculiar way and it so happens that World War I gave birth to the Soviet socialist state and World War II added a number of other states to the socialist camp. But does this mean that socialism can only be brought about through catastrophe and war?

- 4 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The pioneers of socialism believed in morality. One of the greatest moral principles of human society is peace. This I do not take out of the Bible. This I found after profound study in the works of Marx, Lenin, Bebel (August), and Liebknecht (Wilhelm). They always fought for peace and showed socialism to be a superior society to capitalism. It was because they believed that only socialism would bring peace to humanity.

"What makes you think you are going to build a socialist society from the rubble of an atomic war? It is not only an inhuman conception but the very class that is supposed to build this society, the know-how, and the culture, will be destroyed. I want to tell you very frankly and bluntly that if I believed in the theory of socialism through war, and if this was the theory, or the belief of a communist party, I would not want to be a member of any such party.

"I believe in socialism. I believe that we can win and we can win in peaceful competition when we will outproduce the capitalist world and when we will have the highest standard of living. I hope, therefore, that you have in your document, which I have still to read, taken into consideration the peculiar situations that exist in each country and above all the uniting and the mobilizing of the people for peace as you mobilize them for socialism. Thus, by example, show that socialism is not merely a Utopian dream but something that all peoples of the world will understand at a glance."

The remarks of Khrushchev caused a considerable flurry in the hall. Khrushchev and the delegates from the CPC argued back and forth.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because unauthorized disclosure of our source, CG 5824-S\*, would seriously impair the national defense efforts of our country. Information contained in enclosure to New York airtel dated 12-29-60 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

- 5 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 12/21/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO (U)  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau five copies and to the Chicago Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing a list of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia. This Commission, which was also known as the Editorial Commission, met in Moscow for four weeks in October, 1960. It is noted that there were only two representatives from the CP, USA on this Commission. (U)

The letterhead memorandum has been ~~classified~~ (Unclassified) and reflects "Washington, D.C." as the place where prepared in accordance with Bureau instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60.

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was made available by CG 5824-S\* to SAS JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/17 and 20/60.

- 3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 5) (RM-RRR)  
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (AMRM-RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

JEK:gmm  
(6)

REC-11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge  
50 JAN 17 1961

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_  
257,302, 297,321



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
December 21, 1960

[100-428091] (U)

~~SECRET~~

List of Representatives of  
Communist Parties and Workers'  
Parties on the Commission to  
Prepare a Document for the  
November Meeting of Communist  
Parties and Workers' Parties  
in Moscow, Russia

(U)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has provided an English translation of the official Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) list of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties who were on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia. This Commission, which was also known as the Editorial Commission, met for four weeks in Moscow, Russia, in October, 1960.

(U)

The source advised that any variations in the spelling of the names of the delegates can be attributed to the translation from Russian to English. The Party position of the delegate appeared on the official list. The list is as follows:

(U)

I. Albanian Party of Labor

1. Husni Kapo, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
2. Ramiz Aliya, candidate member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.
3. Todi Lubonya, member of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Laboring Youth of Albania.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

II. Bulgarian Communist Party

1. Mitko Grigorov, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.

Classified by 8123 mcl/Bur  
Declassify on: OADR  
297,321 2-28-92  
297,308

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia

(U)

2. Ruben Abramov, member of the Central Committee and head of the Ideological Department. *Russian U.S.S.R.*
3. Kristto Dobrev, professor of the High Party School and member of the Central Committee.

III. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

1. Dezhe Nemesh, member of the Politburo and Central Committee, Editor-in-Chief of "Nepszabadszag", organ of the Party. *Hungary U.S.S.R.*

IV. Working People's Party of Viet Nam

1. Le Zyan, member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
2. Chang Teen, member of the Politburo and Chairman of the People's Assembly of Viet Nam. *Viet Nam U.S.S.R.*
3. Nguyen Thi Thane, member of the Politburo and head of the Political Department of the People's Army of Viet Nam.

V. Socialist Unity Party of Germany (East Germany)

1. Hermann Matern, member of the Politburo, Chairman of the Control Commission and head of the delegation. *E. Germany U.S.S.R.*
2. Herman Aksen, member of the Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of "Neues Deutschland".
3. Peter Florin, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the International Department.
4. Berner Eberlyin, member of the Central Committee and Domestic Political Commission.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia

(U)

VI. Communist Party of China (CPC)

1. Teng Hsiao-ping, member of the Politburo, General Secretary of the CPC and head of the delegation.
2. Peng Chen, member of the Politburo and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.
3. Lee Tsin-tuan, member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Chuan Province Committee of the CPC.
4. Lu Din-yi, candidate member of the Politburo, Assistant Head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department and a member of the Central Committee.
5. Kang Sheng, candidate for the Politburo.
6. Yen Shen-Kyn, candidate member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Assistant Administrative Head of the Central Committee office.
7. Hu Tyao-Moo, candidate member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.
8. Li Chen-Tsi, member of the Central Committee.
9. Liu Ning-yi, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the China Federation of Trade Unions.

VII. Workers' Party of Korea

1. Lee He Soon, member of the Presidium, Vice President of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
2. Pak Yen Gook, member of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department.

~~SECRET~~

China  
USSR

Korea  
USSR

(U)

(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia

~~(S)~~ (U)

3. Tsol Hiden, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the International Department.
4. Ten Dun Ghee, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department.

VIII. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

1. L. Y. Tsend, member of the Politburo, Second-Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
2. B. Zhargalsaihan, member of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department.
3. B. Sosorbarma, member of the Central Committee and Assistant Foreign Affairs Minister.
4. Tse Puntsagnorov, Head of the Education - Cultural Department and member of the Central Committee.

IX. Polish United Workers' Party

1. Zenon Kiszko, member of the Politburo, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
2. Andrezej Wersblan, member of the Central Committee and Head of the Educational Department of the Central Committee.

X. Rumanian Workers' Party

1. Peter Boreelye, member of the Politburo, Assistant President of the Council of Ministers and head of the delegation.

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia

(U)

Rumania  
USSR

2. Stephan Voiku, member of the Central Committee and Editor of the magazine, "Lupte de Klasse".
3. Constantine Lazaresku, candidate for the Central Committee and Assistant Head of the International Department of the Central Committee.

XI.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

1. Mikhail A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCPSU).
2. Frol R. Kozlov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCPSU.
3. Nuritdin A. Mukhitdinov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCPSU.
4. Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium.
5. Boris N. Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee.
6. N. V. Andropov, Deputy Head of the Central Committee.
7. L. F. Ilyichev, member of the Central Committee and Inspection or Verification (Review) Commission.

USSR

XII.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

1. Vladimir Koitski, Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the delegation.
2. Vatslav Slavik, member of the Central Committee and Head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department.

Czech  
USSR

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia

(U)

XIII. French Communist Party

1. Raymond Guyot, member of the Politburo. France
2. Leo Figere, member of the Politburo. U.S.S.R.

XIV. Communist Party of Italy

1. Enrico Berlinguer, member of the leadership of the Central Committee. Italy
2. Juliano Payetta, member of the Central Committee. U.S.S.R.

XV. Communist Party of Germany (West-Germany)

1. Wilhelm Mon, member of the Central Committee and Politburo. W. GER.
2. Joseph Shleifstein, a Secretary of the Central Committee. U.S.S.R.

XVI. Communist Party of Great Britain

1. George Matthews, member of the Politburo and Chief Editor of the London "Daily Worker". U.S.S.R.

XVII. Communist Party of Finland

1. Ville Pessi, General Secretary. Finland
2. Mrs. Inkeri Lehtinen, member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee. U.S.S.R.

XVIII. People's Socialist Party of Cuba

1. Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee. Cuba

~~SECRET~~

(U)

(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia

(U)

XIX. Communist Party of Argentina

1. Alberti Gonzales Paulino, member of the Central Committee.

Argentina  
U.S.S.R.

XX. Communist Party of Brazil

1. Mario Alves, member of the presidium and Central Committee.

Brazil  
U.S.S.R.

XXI. Communist Party of Syria

1. Khaled Pakdash, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

Syria  
U.S.S.R.

XXII. Communist Party of India

1. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary.

India  
U.S.S.R.

XXIII. Communist Party of Indonesia

1. Yusef Adjiotrop, candidate member of the Politburo and a Secretary of the Central Committee.

Indonesia  
U.S.S.R.

XXIV. Communist Party of the United States of America (CP, USA)

1. Elizabeth Flynn, Vice President and member of the National Committee.  
2. M. Childs, member of the National Committee.

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(U)

(U)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: List of Representatives of Communist  
Parties and Workers' Parties on the  
Commission to Prepare a Document for  
the November Meeting of Communist  
Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow,  
Russia

(U)

XXV. Communist Party of Japan

1. Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary.
2. Satomi Hakamada, member of the presidium and  
a Secretary of the Central Committee.
3. Itaru Yonehara, member of the Central Committee.

XXVI. Communist Party of Australia

1. Richard Dixon, President of the Central Committee.
2. Lance Louis Sharkey, General Secretary.

(U)

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of  
Investigation. It is the property of the  
Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned  
to your agency; it and its contents are not  
to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub A)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

DATE: 1/4/61

Records of the NYO reflect that as of 12/31/60, transactions in the SOLO account reported by NY694-S\* since the date of the last accounting have been as follows:

Credit

On hand 11/30/60 \$99,521.00

Debit

To ISADORE WOFSY for use of CP National Office; 12/1/60 \$ 5,000.00

To [redacted] of Chicago as CP, USA investment in [redacted] interest in Manor Motors Co. of Berwyn, Illinois, of which [redacted] is a partner; 12/1/60 \$15,000.00

To ISADORE WOFSY for use of CP National Office; 12/14/60 \$10,000.00

To ISADORE WOFSY for use of CP National Office; 12/23/60 \$10,000.00

Total \$40,000.00

Balance

12/31/60 \$59,521.00

2 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)

1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub F) (SOLO FUNDS) (INFO) (RM)

1 - New York (134-91) (INV.) (41)

1 - New York (100-128861) (CP, USA FUNDS-RESERVE FUNDS) (415)

1 - New York (100-134637-Sub A) (415)

ACB:gmg  
(6)

REC-44

100-428091-1074  
2 JAN 5 1961

memo Baumgardner to Belmont  
1-6-61  
62 JAN 12 1961

INT. SEC.

F B I

Date: 12/20/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED - RRR  
 (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

*Brankin*  
*S. D. Doherty*  
*Big*  
*Sherry*  
*mail (lost)*  
*Big*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau five copies of a letterhead memorandum, and for the Chicago Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum, which sets forth the almost complete text of a 121-page double-spaced typewritten document made available to CG 5824-S\* by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in Moscow, Russia, during November, 1960.

The document was dated 11/5/60 and sets forth the response of the Central Committee, CPSU (CCCPSU) to the Communist Party of China (CPC) letter dated 9/10/60. The CPC letter was, in turn, a response to a CCCPSU memorandum dated 6/21/60. The memorandum of the CCCPSU dated 6/21/60 to the CPC dealt with the relations between Communist and Workers' Parties and the need for friendship between the CPC and CPSU as a powerful factor for peace and the struggle for socialism.

(Unclassified)

The letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~Secret~~" and reflects "Washington, D. C.," as the place where prepared, in accordance with Bureau instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60.

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was made available to SAS JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN during the period of 12/17 through 19/60.

1 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encl. 5) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (AMRM) (RRR) 5 DEC 21 1960  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41) EX-103

JEK;RWH:msb  
 (7)

Approved: 99 Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

82 JAN 25 1961

*End - disseminated to State, CIA, by 12/20/60*  
*only 62, OSI by 12/20/60*  
*Tab: mar 66w*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-428091

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 22, 1960

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union dated November 5, 1960

In connection with our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has provided what is described as almost the complete text of a letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) dated November 5, 1960. The letter sets forth the response of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) to a letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC) dated September 10, 1960. The CPC letter was, in turn, a response to a CCCPSU memorandum dated June 21, 1960.

The source determined that this CPSU letter dated November 5, 1960, was made available to the delegations present at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, from the first full week in November to the first full week in December, 1960. In the opinion of the source, this CPSU letter sets forth practically the entire details of the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. The source further pointed out that in some instances the CPSU letter abstracts information from Chinese documents. The translation from Chinese to Russian and then to English may account, in part, for imperfections in the English text. What follows is an almost complete text of this letter. Information appearing in parentheses hereinafter was provided by the source except for the citations for quotations.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the CPSU  
dated November 5, 1960

The letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC), dated September 10, 1960, does not answer the memorandum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), dated June 21, 1960. The content and tone is something different. The CPSU stated certain facts concerning the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the articles contained in the book, "Long Live Leninism," and stressed relations between parties as based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU stressed the need for friendship between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic as a powerful factor for peace and the struggle for socialism. We also stressed that divergencies which had arisen must be considered at meetings of representatives of the two Parties. We refrained from open polemics, even though the world press picked up the Communist Party of China articles, speeches, etc. The memorandum of the CPSU, dated June 21, strictly confined itself to an examination of facts. We charged that the Communist Party of China departed from correct methods in regard to the relationship between parties. That method is examination of controversial issues by responsible representatives of the parties concerned.

When in 1958 and in 1959 issues arose in the relations between our two parties, Comrade Khrushchev went in person to Peking and had frank discussions with Mao Tse-tung on these questions. There was nothing to prevent the Chinese comrades from doing likewise by holding preliminary discussions with the CPSU on the issues they raised in articles and in the meeting of the WFTU.

As early as March, 1960, the CCCPSU invited the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCCPC) to send a party and government delegation to the Soviet Union.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION ~~TOP SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.

December 20, 1960

Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union dated November 5, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is in a position to do so, has provided almost the complete text of a letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) dated November 5, 1960. The letter sets forth the response of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) to a letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC) dated September 10, 1960. The CPC letter was, in turn, a response to a CCCPSU memorandum dated June 21, 1960.

The source advised that this CPSU letter dated November 5, 1960, was made available to the delegations present at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, from the first full week in November to the first full week in December, 1960. In the opinion of the source, this CPSU letter sets forth practically the entire details of the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. The source further pointed out that in some instances the CCCPSU letter abstracts information from Chinese documents. The translation from Chinese to Russian and then to English may account, in part, for imperfections in the English text. What follows is an almost complete text of this letter. Information appearing in parentheses hereinafter was provided by the source except for the citations for quotations.

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100-428091-1075  
ENCLOSURE



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Re: Contents of a Letter of the CPSU  
dated November 5, 1960

The letter of the Communist Party of China (CPC), dated September 10, 1960, is not an answer to the memorandum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), dated June 21, 1960. The content and tone is something different. The CPSU stated certain facts concerning the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the articles contained in the book, "Long Live Leninism," and stressed relations between parties as based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU stressed the need for friendship between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic as a powerful factor for peace and the struggle for socialism. We also stressed that divergencies which had arisen must be considered at meetings of representatives of the two Parties. We refrained from open polemics, even though the world press picked up the Communist Party of China articles, speeches, etc. The memorandum of the CPSU, dated June 21, strictly confined itself to an examination of facts. We charged that the Communist Party of China departed from correct methods in regard to the relationship between parties. That method is examination of controversial issues by responsible representatives of the parties concerned.

When in 1958 and in 1959 issues arose in the relations between our two parties, Comrade Khrushchev went in person to Peking and had frank discussions with Mao Tse-tung on these questions. There was nothing to prevent the Chinese comrades from doing likewise by holding preliminary discussions with the CPSU on the issues they raised in articles and in the meeting of the WFTU.

As early as March, 1960, the CCCPSU invited the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCCPC) to send a party and government delegation to the Soviet Union.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

The CPC did not avail itself of this opportunity. Instead you published the April articles attacking the line of the CPSU and other fraternal parties. We renewed the invitation in May, 1960, but again you refused to act on it and launched an open attack on the CPSU. The Communist Party of China leaders evaded a discussion of issues and brought the issues instead into non-party organizations.

The CCCPSU regarded it as a duty to inform fraternal parties of the situation created and to give a Marxist appraisal. The memorandum of the CCCPSU, dated June 21, was based on the idea that on major international issues it is necessary to acquaint fraternal parties because of common interests and also that they are not to be discussed behind the backs of fraternal parties as they were in Peking. At Bucharest, the CPC had an opportunity to state its opinion. All fraternal parties at Bucharest disagreed with the methods of the CPC, such as working behind the backs of other Central Committees and attacking them, such as the attack on the Rome meeting of the seventeen European parties. Such are the facts and the real picture that preceded events up to Bucharest. The CCCPSU regretfully states that the so-called answer of the CPC aggravated the differences rather than to help overcoming them.

The CPC letter of September 10 shows that the Chinese comrades, instead of taking an objective and principled stand in regard to our comradely memorandum, in a statement at Bucharest set about raising and seeking more issues and obstacles. The letter of the Communist Party of China, dated September 10, indicates no desire to meet the fraternal parties' proposals half way. In effect, it was an overbearing ~~warning~~ warning that the CPC will not heed the opinions of the absolute majority of the fraternal parties. The CPSU memorandum was written in comradely tones based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

contained no over hasty appraisals or uncomradely remarks about the CCCPC or its leaders.

The CPC letter of September 10 is written in uncomradely, high-strung and overbearing tones and in many cases is offensive to the CCCPSU. Lack of restraint is regrettable and does not make for consolidation of Marxist-Leninist parties. Our Party has in its history been attacked repeatedly from the right and the left. But never since the actions of the Trotskyites, who held all means to be fair as long as they helped smear our Party, had anyone spoken to the CPSU in such outrageous tones.

The Chinese comrades in their letter fully ignore our arguments, the facts adduced in the memorandum, extracts from documents and Comrade Khrushchev's speeches and persist in their erroneous views which are at variance with Marxism-Leninism, on such important issues of principle as the character of the present epoch, the issue of war and peace, the forms of transition to socialism, etc. The CCCPC letter goes far beyond the scope of the questions raised in our memorandum and piles up new questions that have long since been settled by life and have no bearing whatsoever on the issues over which differences have arisen. In fact, what do the events in Hungary, Soviet-Polish relations in 1956 and the criticism of the cult of V. J. Stalin's person by the 20th Congress of the CPSU have to do with the differences over pressing international problems which prompted the memorandum of June 21? These issues were brought up for a certain purpose and unseemly aims.

The CPC letter of September 10 makes a number of slanderous charges against our Party, charges based on fabrications. They make the monstrous charge that the CCCPSU

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

"is deviating more and more plainly from the right path of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow declaration--and on a whole series of important questions of principle." This allegation, like the letter as a whole, indicates that the Chinese comrades chief aim was to defame the theoretical and political activities of the CCCPSU and Comrade Khrushchev in every way, being not particular about the means they used.

CPC officials tried to influence foreign Communists arriving in the Chinese Peoples Republic and to set them against the leading bodies of their own parties, which adhere to a correct Marxist-Leninist view and impelled them to a splitting activity which is rightly rejected by the fraternal parties.

Your letter of September 10 questions the correctness of the general line of the CPSU and attempts to drive a wedge between our parties and other fraternal parties. We protest against such actions most emphatically.

This letter of September 10 is circulating in the CPC. You make a declaration for unity but you are influencing and educating the Chinese Communists in the spirit of dislike and unfriendliness to the CPSU and the Soviet Union and are trying to set them against our Party and the Soviet people.

We consider it our duty to warn the Chinese comrades very firmly that they bear full responsibility for the grave consequences of such actions, which undermine the unity of our parties and peoples in the face of our worst common enemy--international imperialism led by the United States of America. Double talk is no good. When you say that you believe in "proletarian internationalism," "fraternal relations with the CPSU," and so forth and then talk in a slanderous way about the

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

the CPSU "embellishes" imperialism. Your contention about "embellishing" imperialism is groundless and slanderous. Reread without prejudice the reports to the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, the decision on foreign policy, speeches and statements by Comrade Khrushchev, and other CPSU leaders, and last but not least any note sent by the Soviet Government to the governments of imperialist countries.

The CPSU exposes imperialism and its aggressive policies. Also we take all practical steps to weaken the positions of our common enemies and rally the forces of socialism for peace and democracy. The thesis on imperialism which the CPC quotes from the Marxist-Leninist Moscow Declaration is based on the thesis of our 20th Congress including the part "at present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting war" and "all the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism." Comrade Khrushchev exposed imperialism in a speech of September 3, 1959 made a few days before his trip to the United States. Khrushchev stressed the need to promote defensive capacity in our country in view of the existence of imperialism which threatens to start a new world war. Khrushchev's speeches in the United States, France, and Austria, etc., cited the danger of war and attacked imperialism. Speaking in Los Angeles on September 19, 1959, before capitalist magnates Khrushchev said, "If you are not prepared for disarmament and want to continue the arms race, we will have no choice but to go on making rockets, which, in our country, are being turned out by the assembly line method."

Chinese comrades affirm in their letter that they have discovered an "embellishment of imperialism" in the speeches of Khrushchev. They quote from a speech by Khrushchev on his return from the United States and say that this does not tally with Chinese comrades facts. (Here the CPSU letter contains quotes from other speeches by Khrushchev. These

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

speeches show there is not a desire to appease and embellish aggressive aims of imperialism. Other speeches cited--the Fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet, January, 1960, and a speech at Baku prior to the trip to Paris.) On the eve of the departure for the Summit meeting in Paris, Comrade Khrushchev laid particular emphasis on the prime importance of the vigilance of the peace loving peoples for the maintenance of peace. "We must be vigilant every day, every hour," he said on May 5 last. "We do not solicit peace from weakness. Peace is an indispensable condition for the quiet and happy life of people but if peace is to triumph, the peace fighters, the champions of the just cause, must be prepared to repel the aggressor, to strike back should the enemies of peace provoke an attack on our country or any other country of the socialist camp." The CPSU is always mobilizing against imperialism.

The CPC deliberately ignores these statements of Khrushchev and the CPSU. We deliberately cite these quotations of Khrushchev since the Chinese comrades in most cases cited these same quotations torn from their context.

Comrade Khrushchev and other leaders of the socialist camp were at the United Nations to propagate ideas of peace and socialism and for the abolition of colonialism. This shows a continuous exposure of imperialism and measures to curb the plans of aggression.

When the conflict arose in the Taiwan area and Peoples China was threatened with an attack on the part of the United States, the Soviet Union sent the well-known message of September 19, 1958, to President Eisenhower. It was written in the most resolute language. The Soviet Union declared that it would regard an attack on the Chinese Peoples Republic as

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

an attack on the Soviet Union with the consequences it entailed. The message was couched in such sharp terms that the United States President refused to accept it. This is how our Party and the Soviet Government "embellished" imperialism.

Other examples are the Suez crisis, Syria and Iraq.

It is a slander to say that the CPSU and the Soviet Union are "flirting" with or making "adaptations" to imperialism. As regards the quotations the Chinese used concerning Khrushchev's remarks pertaining to President Eisenhower, it is obvious to all that these relate to a sphere of diplomacy.

Lenin in 1919, in accepting the credentials of Svinhofud (a statesman of Finland and bitter anti-Communist), said in his answer to the left Communists, "It had to be done." In conclusion we stress the fact that every speech by the First Secretary of the CCCPSU and the head of the Soviet Union is discussed beforehand collectively and approved by the Presidium of the CCCPSU.

Comrade Khrushchev expresses the views of CCCPSU and those of the whole party and people. Khrushchev has, by his supreme devotion to Marxism-Leninism, his unflagging efforts to build Communism in the USSR, to preserve world peace and to defend the interests of all the people of labor, won boundless prestige in our Party, in the country and throughout the world. Comrade Khrushchev spares no effort in defense of peace, mercilessly exposes the imperialist aggressive schemes. Great too are Comrade Khrushchev's services in the sphere of home policy--the successes in our economy, science, culture, raising people's living standard, etc.

The Chinese comrades attacked the CPSU at a time when all the forces of imperialism and reaction, specifically U. S.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

imperialism, have lined up against the Soviet Union. The unflagging concern of the CPSU and the Soviet Union to strengthen the military might of the Soviet Union speaks of our determination to fight the imperialists. As a result of the enormous efforts of our Party, the Armed Forces of the USSR today possess the military might that reliably insures the security of the Soviet people as well as the peoples of all the countries of the socialist camp, thus enabling them successfully to build socialism. It is not enough to fight imperialism only in words and articles no matter what invectives against imperialism they contain.

The CPC letter raises a number of problems to aggravate the differences and raises a number of questions long since settled and what is more presents them in a distorted fashion.

In regard to the events in Hungary in 1956, the CPC wants to create the impression that they corrected the



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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

position of the CPSU in 1956 during these events. In late October, 1956, as a result of the initiative of the CPSU, Liu Shao-chi was in Moscow. Events in Hungary were discussed at great length because they effected the entire world communist movement. The Chinese comrades were for and against the proposals presented to them as they prepared to return home. They agreed that the Soviet troops should stay. On November 1st, the situation changed and they suggested a wait and see policy which was no good. It was our duty to intervene and we so informed the CPC delegation before they left for Peking. There was a decision of the Presidium to move on November 4, 1956, to suppress the counter revolution. A few days later Liu Shao-chi, in a talk with the Ambassador from the Soviet Union, said that maybe this action was "premature," "hasty," etc. Further that maybe 7-10 or 20 days later may have been better, etc. The Hungarian people would have learned and that Nagy would have "unmasked himself."

In the light of these facts the Chinese comrades cannot claim that Soviet troops moved in at their insistence. But even Liu Shao-chi said this is not a point of dispute. We thought that this was past history had the Chinese comrades not raised it again in an effort to disturb the unity of the CPSU and the Hungarian Party. We acted in time and saved bloodshed. There was real danger to the Hungarian Republic--military interference from the outside.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

Regarding the Poznan events in October, 1956, the international situation was tense. We moved troops to the western borders. We saved Poland and were ready to battle imperialism. Mao informed us that he agreed that it was "necessary to bring Soviet troops into Poland, that this may be done as an emergency matter." Events in Poland developed differently than in Hungary because of the healthy forces in the Polish United Workers Party under Gomulka.

The Chinese revert to these events to bring disunity - try to fan nationalist sentiments in Hungary and Poland, but the relations between the USSR and Hungary and Poland are excellent. It is slander to say that the CPSU wanted a meeting (as does the CPC letter of September 10, 1960) of world parties to condemn Poland. This is a slanderous invention. The possibility of such a meeting was discussed but for reasons of the need to exchange opinion and to work out a common policy against imperialism and reaction at that time.

The situation in Autumn 1956 was tense. In the Middle East there was aggression against Egypt, a growing activity of the reactionaries in the peoples democracies.

What took place in Hungary and in Poland in 1956 was the result of the policy pursued by Stalin - the price we had to pay for the cult of the individual as well.

Stalin urged former leaders in Poland and Hungary to use some impermissible methods he himself had used. As a result Comrade Kadar and Comrade Gomulka found themselves in jail but not as prisoners of capitalist Hungary and Poland in whose prisons they had been confined under former regimes. As for the fate of some other comrades in these countries, it turned out to be even more tragic owing to that policy.

We condemned the cult of Stalin's person at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, something which the Chinese comrades deplore in their letter. Everyone had assumed until recently that the CPC shared the positive estimation given by other parties of the 20th Congress' condemnation of the

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

personality cult but the letter of September 10 represents the whole issue of the cult of the individual.

Mao Tse-Tung in a talk with Mikoyan on April 6, 1956, after the 20th Congress said "The CPC fully and unreservedly approves of all that the CPSU did from Beria's arrest to and including the 20th Congress. The report on the cult of the individual was of no less importance to the Chinese Communist Party and the other fraternal parties than to the Soviet Union." The after effects will be only temporary. On April 7, Liu Shao-chi said he "fully approved."

At the 8th All-China Party Congress in September, 1956, Comrade Liu Shao-chi said "the 20th Congress of the CPSU held in February of this year, is a major political event of world importance." He also condemned the consequences of the cult of personality. Teng Hsiao-ping also condemned the deification of the individual and in his report approved the policies of the 20th Congress.

These statements were believed to be sincere "but now their sincerity seems questionable." Four years later these Chinese comrades assert that the report on Stalin is "one-sided". They question Khrushchev's report. The Chinese comrades make false assertions when they talk of one-sidedness since they received a copy of Comrade Khrushchev's report. When the CCCPSU decided to criticize the personality cult they foresaw the possibility of the adverse side but "in the final analysis, from the viewpoint of the fundamental interests and ultimate goals of the working class, it would have tremendous positive effect."

Progress in the USSR political, economic and cultural fields proves this. Any citizen in the Soviet Union will tell you so. The exposure was necessary, and strictly speaking it carried through Lenin's last will. In the "letter to the Congress" known as his "will" Lenin wrote about the

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CPSU dated November 5, 1960

dangers of concentrated authority in Stalin's hands, "Stalin is rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a General Secretary." Lenin suggested that comrades "think over a way of removing Stalin from the post and appointing somebody else differing in all respects from comrade Stalin by one single advantage - that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail "but it is not a detail or it is a detail which can acquire decisive importance." (Letter to the Congress, 1956). Lenin proved to be right.

In 1937, the economic level of the Soviet Union was less than in 1936 due to the disorganization of the branches of the Soviet economy. The destruction stemming from the cult of Stalin's personality had exceedingly grave consequences. At a crucial moment a considerable number of the Red Army Commanders were exterminated, which made in great measure for the Soviet Army's reverses in the Finnish War. This gave Hitler added confidence in respect to his aggressive intentions to start a war against the Soviet Union. Hitler must have supposed that because the Soviet Army had been unable to cope with the Finnish Army, the army of a country with a population of three million, fast enough, Germany with her war machine was certain to achieve complete success in the war against the Soviet Union. Hitler's supposition was borne out to some extent. Our Army retreated all the way to Moscow, Stalingrad, and the Caucasus Mountains. Stalin said that it was tactically indispensable to retreat but it should be obvious to anyone that this explanation will not hold water. To say that we retreat so far back for tactical considerations means to recognize our weakness and inability to keep the enemy out of our territory, our inability to defeat him on the borders of our country and then to pursue him.

Many millions of Soviet people paid with their lives for the errors committed by Stalin on this matter. Had it not been for these errors the events could have taken a different turn and the outcome of the Second World War could have been different and even more favorable to international socialism.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

The cult of the personality is not only a concern because of the past. We condemn the abuse of authority now as well as in the past. The Soviet Union does not believe in exterminating personnel. It believes in convincing those who disagree. We had to remove Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov from offices they held but we did it in a democratic way and gave them new jobs. They are working and some are pensioned.

We had to speak up to destroy the idea implanted in the minds of the people that such methods (Stalin's terror) were indispensable under a socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This criticism of the cult of the personality benefited not only our Party and country but other countries and fraternal parties. The cult of the personality aggravated the situation in Hungary and in Poland. Now our relations with those countries are excellent. But while we and other socialist countries practice democracy and good relations with each other, this is not so in Albania. They just removed some people and expelled others. We fear for them and others because their "crime" was that they are friends of the CPSU. It should be plain to all that the Chinese comrades, by returning to the issue of the cult of Stalin's personality are trying to set Stalin against the present leadership of the CCCPSU. You are seeking to impair the respect and trust which the fraternal Communist and Workers Parties show for the CCCPSU. But nothing will come of it because the CCCPSU stands on the firm ground of the doctrine of Marx and Lenin and because the truth is on our side.

The CPC maintains a standpoint different from the point of view adopted by the world Communist movement on a number of fundamental contemporary international questions. It is mistaken on the character of the present epoch, on war and peace, on peaceful co-existence, and on the ways of transition to socialism.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

Defining the distinctive features of our epoch is of extreme importance for the activities of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. It helps to lay reliable foundations for the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement and the foreign policy of the socialists everywhere. The dictatorship of the proletariat has turned from a national force to an international force exerting a powerful influence on world developments. The principle distinctive feature of our time is that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. Real possibilities have arisen to solve the major problems of our time in a new way - in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism. The 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1957 said that "war is not fatally inevitable". Joint efforts of the World socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries working against war and all the peace loving forces can stop wars even before the final victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism still extant in a part of the world - when the socialist countries produce more than half of the world industrial output, etc.

"The international situation will change radically and a real possibility will arise to exclude world war from the life of society."

The CPC has erroneous views on the character of the present epoch. "Jenmin Jihpao", organ of the Central Committee of the CPC, propagandizes the masses with the following thesis: "It is impossible to put an end to wars before the capitalist system and private property are destroyed." "Hung Chi", theoretical organ of the CCCPC, teaches the Party members "so long as the imperialist system still exists, the sharpest form of violence - war - will by no means be eliminated in the world." Comrade Liu Chang-shen describes the very idea of the possibility of excluding war "in circumstances where imperialism exists" as an "illusion". "Jenmin Jihpao" stated categorically: "The facts show clearly that the threat of war is today, as before, in the conditions that Lenin spoke about more than 40 years ago - it lies in

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

imperialism." This newspaper is blind to the fact that the international situation has changed profoundly in favor of the forces of peace and socialism. Others wrote that peace as an ideal of the working class is "unprincipled". Some CPC writer even forgot to mention the existence of a socialist camp.

Concerning Mao Tse-tung's use of "The wind from the East is overcoming the wind from the West," this is not a definition of the contemporary epoch.

No, this formula, probably advanced with the pretention to say a new word in Marxist-Leninist theory is incorrect and has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. The class approach, a scientific analysis of the contemporary epoch, must not be replaced by juggling with geographical and meteorological terminology.

There are socialist countries in the West too - also there is a working class and peasantry in the Western capitalist countries who struggle against exploitators to end capitalist domination. There are also strong "winds" in the national liberation movement in Africa and Latin America, which, as you know, are a part of the West, and are also left out of the reckoning.

Also keep in mind our opponents harp continuously that the Communists want to conquer the West by exporting revolution from the East. If the Chinese terminology is accepted, our enemies would use it to demoralize the people in the Western countries.

PEACE AND WAR: The cardinal issue of our time is the problem of war and peace. The CPSU is against fatalism and against passivity in questions of war and peace. The CPSU always maintains that as long as imperialist states exist, as long as monopoly capital with its urge for aggression exists, for imperialist wars, rules in them, the danger of war will persist. The peoples can and must oppose this menace with their readiness to prevent war, to curb imperialist aggression, to insure peaceful co-existence. If they do so,

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war will be averted. Examples are Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia and Cuba. The USSR exposes all intrigues of aggressors.

However, we do not speak of the war danger, of the threat of war, to inure the masses to the notion that war is inevitable. We do so in order to summon all the forces of peace to prevent a military catastrophe; to redouble the vigilance of the people. That is the only way of rousing the masses to active efforts for the good of peace, to mobilize the masses, to lead them into battle against the war threat.

The CPC makes all kinds of reservations on peaceful co-existence which are at loggerheads with the recognition that it is possible to avert war, possible to disarm, for socialist and capitalist countries to co-exist. (Here the letter quotes from the Chinese press that war is inevitable before socialism wins throughout the world.) At the WFTU meeting in Peking, Comrade Liu Ning-Yi said "First vanquish imperialism, then insure peaceful co-existence." This is a denial that peaceful co-existence is possible in our time.

The Marxist-Leninist approach to the question of the possibility of preventing war in our epoch is aimed at rallying the peoples for the struggle to turn this possibility into reality. Imperialists are frightened by socialist countries, they try to unite to form military blocs. It is not wars between capitalist, imperialist countries that are now most probable, although this too is not discounted; wars are chiefly prepared against the socialist countries. Imperialists prepare wars against us, but we for our part, create obstacles, barriers to wars. With each year our possibilities will expand and we shall therefore be

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able to avert wars. At present we cannot rule out the possibility of war. But the choice of time and, generally starting wars, has now become more difficult and complicated for the imperialists than before, prior to the emergence of the powerful socialist camp.

In World War II, the USSR was alone. There were just two socialist countries then, the USSR and Mongolia. We utilized the contradiction between the imperialists in the interests of socialism.

There is a different situation today and it is unwise to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp and its influence upon the course of events and consequently on the question of whether wars are to be or not to be. Given a powerful economy and powerful armed forces - which we have, and growing stronger each year - even greater possibilities appear for the prevention of war.

On local wars, the imperialists often say they need small calibre atomic weapons for local wars. They too are aware that a fresh world war may lead to the collapse of the capitalist system as a whole. That is why they prefer to start local wars. This alone is a big victory for socialism.

But usually wars are started first as small imperialist wars, and small wars may develop into a world war and hence into a thermonuclear, rocket war. (Examples are again cited, such as the attack on Egypt, etc.) Local wars are possible. We must fight both against local wars and world war. The letter of the CPC dated September 10

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insists that local wars will never cease and are "inevitable". Dulles, too, held this theory - theories on "limited" wars. This must be fought. Theories of "limited" wars are groundless. We must not forget that World War II started as a "local" war, with scattered seats of danger. In our time, "limited wars" can develop into world-wide armed conflict. The Chinese comrades have a different conception. This conception is extremely dangerous to peace. We speak of imperialist local wars.

Revolutionary wars of liberation by colonial peoples is an entirely different question. We hold such wars permissible and inevitable. A war like this is now raging in Algeria. The United States and British imperialists are involved in this war. They assist the French colonists. Cuba is waging a war of liberation. Our attitude to such wars for independence is positive. It is the theory of the CPC that general staffs of imperialism decide wars. In this historical epoch it is very difficult for imperialist general staffs to decide at their own discretion whether to start a war or not. The following appeared in "Jenmin Jihpao" on June 4, 1960: "As long as imperialism exists, war is inevitable." In preventing war we do not rely on wisdom or good intentions of the imperialists, but primarily on the political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp and on the increasing urge for peace as shown by hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries.

By pursuing the right policy we can divide or deepen the rift between the various capitalist countries. Should we use diplomacy? Should we use a foreign policy for peace? Every opportunity must be used to ease tensions. We must show that the socialist countries are fighting in good faith for peace. Unless we do so we will give the imperialists a chance to isolate us and take the cause of peace into their own hands.

Your criticism of us for meeting with the heads of the capitalist states is inconsistent. For example, there was a visit of Field Marshal Montgomery to China.

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With regard to the "paper tiger" theory introduced by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, it is not correct to compare it with Lenin's theory or description of imperialism as a "colossus with clay feet." Lenin showed that imperialism is a colossus hence the blows should be aimed at brittle weak spots. But the "paper tiger" idea demobilizes the masses and leads to complacency.

The evaluation of nuclear war by the Chinese comrades is absolutely incorrect. Recall the statement by Mao Tse-Tung: "the atomic bomb is a paper tiger which American reaction uses to intimidate people; it is frightening in appearance, but not frightening in all reality." Also at the Moscow meeting in 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung said that as a result of an atomic war "at most half of mankind would perish while the other half would remain. Yet imperialism would be wiped off the face of the earth and the whole world would be socialized. Years will go by and the population will again be 2,700 million people and, to be sure, even greater."

It says in articles in "Long Live Leninism" (Hung Chi Journal), with astounding facility that "the victorious people will at an extremely rapid rate create upon the ruins of imperialism a civilization a thousand times superior."

The idea of "socializing the world" by means of a sanguinary atomic war is worlds removed from the communist world outlook, from the CP line. You cannot go to the masses with such incorrect ideas.

Contemporary imperialism is not a "paper tiger". It has destructive weapons and a nuclear war would lead to the extermination of hundreds of millions of people, to untold

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destruction of productive forces. It would make the building of the new society upon the ruins of a nuclear war extremely difficult.

The CPSU and its leadership have repeatedly declared that if the imperialists start a war, it would put a final end to the decayed and blood stained capitalist system. The socialist revolution does not need atomic and hydrogen bombs to pave the road for it. We are deeply convinced that socialism will win throughout the world without a destructive nuclear war. We want capitalism to cause mankind as little suffering as possible when it perishes, and the material and spiritual values created by the peoples to be preserved from destruction in a new world war and to be placed fully at the disposal of the peoples themselves.

Such is the scientific Marxist-Leninist point of view concerning contemporary nuclear war. You cannot pass it over in silence. The masses must be told plainly and honestly about the existing danger. That is the only way of uniting and rallying the peoples in the struggle against imperialism, for enduring world peace. \*

ON PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE: The Chinese comrades now say they agree on peaceful co-existence, but a few months ago they disagreed. This is a Marxist-Leninist principle. Peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems or destructive nuclear war - this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. This is the principle of socialist foreign policy as laid down by Lenin.

The letter of the CPC says this is possible, but the CPC differs on how to insure peaceful co-existence - "no concessions", no "dressing up of imperialism." Such talk and

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charges by the CPC is groundless. We, as expressed in statements of Comrade Khrushchev, act upon the proposition that peaceful co-existence is an economic, political and ideological struggle that proceeds unabated every hour of every day between socialism and capitalism and that it is aimed at the possible strengthening of socialism and weakening of imperialism. We are merely opposed to this struggle developing into a nuclear war conflict.

Declarations for peaceful co-existence are not enough. A positive foreign policy and unity of the masses are needed. (At this point the letter quotes from Lenin's Collected Works, Russian edition, volume 33, page 349, on phrases and the struggle for peace.)

After 1953, the USSR undertook a series of major acts of foreign policy designed to ease tension. These acts thwarted the plans of the imperialists.

The Chinese are wrong when they say that there has been no peaceful co-existence since World War II. A number of local wars have been stopped. This does not mean that imperialists did not try to commit aggression, but the main thing is that their plans were thwarted. Peaceful co-existence facilitates the struggle of the peoples against imperialist aggression.

The Chinese underestimated the contradictions between considerable sections of the bourgeoisie of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and the imperialists and the use of these contradictions in foreign policy. They underestimated neutralist countries and their leaders like Nehru and Sukarno. As a result, China is embroiled in a dispute with some neutrals like India. This helps the enemies of socialism. This affects the entire socialist camp. The Indian CP movement was injured

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and the Communist movement seriously prejudiced.

ON DISARMAMENT: This question is intrinsically bound up with the problem of peaceful co-existence. Disarmament is considered by the CPSU as a cardinal factor in ensuring a stable peace and holds that every effort must be bent to have it settled.

The letter of the CPC attacks our Party's appeal for a world without arms, without armies and wars.

The Chinese comrades called this slogan an "illusion". It is a militant appeal in reality which urges the peoples to fight for disarmament, against aggression. Rejection of this slogan, as Khrushchev said at Bucharest, means handing over the banner of peace, which lends prestige to the communists, to the imperialists. Marxists-Leninists cannot and never will agree to such a reckless step.

The CPC disagrees that monies for armament spending should be used to aid underdeveloped countries. But socialist countries can use such economic aid given to backward countries to mobilize these newly independent countries in the struggle for peace. We cannot understand why the authors of this letter ignore this very important proposition. Of an equally great mobilizing force is the appeal to channel the efforts of the people to the creation of material and spiritual values and not means of destruction.

The Chinese argue that to have a world without arms and without armies would be a world without a state. There is no use arguing with the Chinese comrades about this erroneous interpretation. The aim of the Soviet Union is to deprive the imperialist states of the tools of aggression and enslavement

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of other peoples and not to abolish all weapons, all armed forces in general. The Soviet plan envisages quite clearly the preservation by every state of definite contingents of the police (militia).

The CPC asks how we square "world without arms, without armies and 'just wars'". This is easy to answer. The Chinese know the answer. In the bourgeois countries the weapons are in the hands of the imperialists and not of the workers. They also know that the people in the colonies often rise against the imperialist oppressors, unarmed, though the imperialists are armed to the teeth.

We make the demand for disarmament with the demand to liquidate the colonial system and dismantle war bases on foreign territories. Surely this helps the struggle of the colonial peoples. This also answers the Chinese comrades who assert in their letter that in using the slogan - a world without arms and wars - may weaken the class struggle and the national liberation movement. The CPC seems not to understand that this slogan weakens the oppressor.

Criticism of this slogan is equivalent to denying the correctness of the demand for general and complete disarmament. The CPC stand is contradictory on disarmament because while admitting the feasibility of partial disarmament, the Chinese comrades deny the possibility of general and complete disarmament and recognize it as merely a slogan in the struggle.

The present day correlation of forces enables us to demand and work for a practical settlement of the disarmament problems. We by no means consider that general and complete disarmament can be achieved already now. But if we do not fight for this lofty goal today, we shall not achieve it tomorrow

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either. In the meantime as long as our opponents do not discontinue the arms race, we see the task of our parties in building up steadily and in every way the military might of the countries of the socialist camp.

ON THE FORMS OF TRANSITION OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO SOCIALISM:

The CCCP devotes the entire section of its letter specifically to the question of peaceful transition to socialism. In it, it takes the proposition of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the Moscow Declaration on this question, that is on the ways of accomplishing the socialist revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, in other words, on the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism.

The authors of the letter assert groundlessly that Comrade Khrushchev actually "proceeds from a non-revolutionary standpoint", that he calls in question the need to carry out a revolution. This, of course, is an absurd allegation.

At the 20th Congress Khrushchev stressed the radical changes in the world and said "it is probable that more forms of transition to socialism will appear. Moreover, the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True we recognize the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of the class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society."

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Comrade Khrushchev clearly stated that we proceed from the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. In some countries we recognize the need for revolutionary violence and civil war.

Thus the assertion in the letter about some kind of renunciation of revolution is an unscrupulous invention.

Khrushchev further showed that as Lenin taught us "the use or the non-use of violence in the transition to socialism depends on the resistance of the exploiters on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat."

The 20th Congress of the CPSU did not limit itself to examining only the non-peaceful form of transition to socialism, which had already been comprehensively established by Marxist-Leninist science. Developing Marxism-Leninism creatively, the Congress drew the conclusion that there would be far more forms of transition to socialism in the future, that it was becoming possible for the working class of a number of countries, on the basis of a single proletarian and popular front, to unite the majority of the people under its leadership, break the resistance of the class enemy and seize power without civil war.

Consequently, the 20th Congress of the CPSU pointed to two forms of transition to socialism: peaceful and non-peaceful, and also to the conditions under which the possibility of the peaceful progress of socialist revolution can be realized. The Marxist conception of peaceful transition to socialism formulated by our Party, has nothing in common with the revisionist thesis of winning of a parliamentary majority.

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Communists engage in the use of parliamentary and non-parliamentary activities - thus developing mass movement for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.

All fraternal parties supported our thesis and they were further enlarged and developed in the 1957 Moscow Conference Declaration. The Chinese comrades in their September 10 letter talk of the "one sidedness" of the peaceful transition to socialism and that we want to "evade" the question of winning power; that we bury the dictatorship of the proletariat in oblivion and so on. Such accusations are absurd levelled at a party which for 43 years now has been the guiding core of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one of the biggest countries of the world.

The question of the different forms of transition to socialism is of tremendous fundamental importance for the further onward march of socialism. It is a question of taking proper account of and properly utilizing the balance of forces in our epoch. The very possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism in some capitalist countries is made feasible primarily by the formation of the powerful socialist system, the consolidation of the positions of socialism throughout the world, the increasing appeal the ideas of socialism have for the working class and working people in general in the capitalist countries, the better organization of the working class and the greater influence of the Communist parties, the growing isolation of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the expansion of the front of the working class and its allies which opposes it.

When socialism wins superiority over capitalism in world production and achieves a higher standard of living of

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the working population - and this is not far off - the force of attraction of our ideas will grow immensely. There will grow an immeasurable increase in the ability of the world socialist system to prevent the imperialist export of counter-revolution and the interference of the imperialists in the affairs of the people of any country who have risen in revolution. Proceeding from this our Party considers that even more favorable conditions will be created for accomplishing socialist revolution in capitalist countries and that the possibilities for the peaceful transition to socialism will also grow. To point to these possibilities means to equip the masses with a powerful weapon in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and does not at all mean to "immobilize" them as is asserted in the CCCPC letter. \*

The CPC attacks "peaceful transition" but says that it can be used as a practical slogan but this is where you differ with the position of the world Communist movement and the Declaration (of 1957). Our Party, together with other communist parties, considers that there may be a real possibility in a number of countries to accomplish socialism by peaceful means.

Actual differences with the CPC are deep. The CPSU and other parties say that the peaceful way is possible. The CPC denies this under all circumstances. This is at variance with Leninism. Criticizing "left wing Communists" he wrote in his article "Strange and Monstrous": "Perhaps the authors think that the interests of the international revolution require that it be spurred on, and only war could spur it on,

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not peace, which is liable to create the impression of a kind of 'legalization' of imperialism on the masses? Such a 'theory' would mean a complete break with Marxism, which has always rejected the 'spurring on' of revolutions, which develop as the acuteness of class contradictions engendering revolutions grow. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that armed uprising is a form of struggle indispensable always and under any circumstances" (Works Vol. 27, P. 49).

Revolution theory can only provide the orientation - the proletariat above all the vanguard of a particular country decides the forms and methods of struggle it must choose in a given situation. Communist parties, as Lenin taught us, use all forms always, and are ready to use one or another form depending on the situation.

QUESTIONS OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: The letter of the CPC asserts that there is "ideological discord within the international Communist movement."

The CCCPSU emphatically disagrees with such assertions as being absolutely unfounded.

Even in 1956, the struggle against revisionism and factionalists, which gave rise to certain difficulties in some parties, none of the Communist leaders arrived at such an appraisal in the international movement as the CPC does now. Enemies used this argument in 1956. The Yugoslav revisionists continue in the same strain. We considered that the international Communist movement has not yielded ground under the attacks of the factionalists and revisionists and has consolidated its ranks.

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The Bucharest meeting showed the ideological unity of our ranks. However, by their attacks on common positions of the communist parties, against many fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the Moscow meeting, the Chinese comrades may set up difficulties in the way of the international Communist movement.

ON REVISIONISM AND DOGMATISM: In modern conditions particular importance attaches to the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties on two fronts.

The CPC letter is not clear on the question of the nature of this struggle, its causes and the essence of modern revisionism and dogmatism.

The CPC says revisionism is not routed. The CPSU's position is divorced from reality. The facts are against a pessimistic appraisal which belittles the result of the struggle and crushing blows to revisionism in the ranks of the fraternal parties.

Many parties drove out revisionists - United States, Canada, Great Britain, Denmark, Netherlands and others. Also as a result of the ideological and political struggle waged by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, Yugoslav revisionism was also exposed and isolated. The CPSU led this fight against the gospel of modern revisionism and exposed the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Comrade Khrushchev, addressing the 7th Congress of the CP of Bulgaria, said "Modern revisionism is a kind of Trojan horse." He called it a manifestation of bourgeois ideology which paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the restoration of capitalism. Revisionism reflects the pressure of bourgeois ideology and politics on the working class, etc., etc.

We are always against revisionism and always will be, including the Yugoslav variety.

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We have considered and continue to consider that the fight against revisionism may be successfully waged only from the positions of creative Marxism. Now, as for the letter of the Chinese comrades, it clearly reveals the tendency of depicting creative development of Marxism-Leninism and principled struggle against the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism as revisionism.

The entire letter of September 10 shows that the Chinese comrades clearly denigrate the dangers of dogmatism and sectarianism.

You virtually declare dogmatism a non-existent phenomena, which has outlived itself when you inquire "Have Comrade Khrushchev and certain other comrades really detected in the international Communist movement any kind of dogmatic, sectarian and 'left' deviationist mistakes which need to be combatted?" Yes, such dogmatic and sectarian mistakes do exist and they must be combatted.

Dogmatism as we know is a result of petty-bourgeois influence on the working class. The essence of dogmatism consists in refusing Marxism-Leninism creatively, in divorcing Marxist theory from constantly developing reality, in a failure to understand the complex and contradictory nature of the latter day historical situation, the concerning inability to grasp the process of world development as a whole. On eclecticism-ultra revolutionary phrases, skipping of stages, etc., Lenin wrote, "The revolutionary phrase is the repetition of revolutionary slogans irrespective of the objective circumstances, the given twist of events, the given state of affairs, obtaining at the moment, fine, heady, enticing slogans, but with no ground under them - such is the essence of the revolutionary phrase." (Collected Works, Vol. 6)

The fountain head of sectarianism is the class and political immaturity of certain contingents of the proletariat caused by petty bourgeois pressures, aloofness from life, etc., etc.

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Dogmatism and revisionism are externally opposed to each other and seem to exclude each other. But life shows that, in effect, they always breed and breed each other.

(Here the letter contains more on creative Marxism-Leninism - all rounded analysis of historical reality - consistent revolutionary policy - combination of theory and practice - loyalty to Marxism in practice - generalizing experience of class struggles, etc., etc.)

Marxism-Leninism requires the complete conformity of each theoretical proposition to the contemporary stage of social development.

The Chinese comrades are graviously at variance with Marxism-Leninism, which teaches that is necessary steadfastly to combat revisionism while at the same time not forgetting the necessity of fighting dogmatism. Lenin said, "advocating the old solutions given by Marxism would mean being true to the letter but not the spirit of the teaching, would mean repeating old conclusions by rote and without being able to use the Marxist method of research to analyze the new political situation."  
(Collected Works, Vol. 6.)

Our Party and other fraternal parties bear this in mind when making a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the contemporary epoch and determine on its basis the new tasks in the field of strategy and tactics.

Thus, our differences as regards revisionism and dogmatism boil down to the fact that the CCCPSU deems it necessary to wage a struggle both against revisionism as the chief danger at the present stage and against dogmatism which may become the chief danger if it is not combatted.

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Marxism-Leninism is the common treasure-house of the entire international working class movement. All parties constantly enrich it. The CPSU has always respected everything new that has been contributed by other fraternal parties to the development of Marxist thought, to the theory and practice of socialist construction and never regarded as "heresy" merely because it differed from Soviet experience.

In every country and in every party, Marxism-Leninism is creatively applied to the concrete conditions of the respective country in accordance with national peculiarities. However, this does not mean that there is a "Russian" Marxism, "Chinese" Marxism, "British" Marxism or an "Indian" Marxism. Marxism-Leninism is an international teaching equally suitable and applicable in all countries. Nevertheless, the comrades from the CPC and the Chinese press permit themselves to make wide use of the notion, "Sinification of Marxism-Leninism."

Sinification of Marxism was spoken of, for instance, by Comrade Liu Shao-chi in his report to the Seventh Congress of the CPC. Comrade Liu Shao-chi noted that Comrade Mao Tse-tung "has successfully done a gigantic job of Sinifying Marxism."

The "Jenmin Jihpao" wrote on January 4, 1960: "The ideas of Mao Tse-tung, from world outlook to methods of thought and methods of work, constitute a developing and ever-improving Sinified Marxism, a scientific theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction."

In the letter of September 10, as in many articles by the Chinese comrades, the tendency is clearly seen to claim the role of sole defenders and interpreters of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, to claim a monopoly right for developing this teaching, of excommunicating all those who do not agree with their point of view.

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They never speak about other parties developing Marxism-Leninism. Only the Chinese do.

From articles published in the Chinese press it follows that in the development of creative Marxist thought after Lenin there appeared a chasm, a void which was filled only by the works of the Chinese comrades. The CPC leaders are rather immodest when they make a claim to a special role in the international Communist movement.

ON WORK IN INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS: In the letter of September 10, the CPC claims disagreements in work in democratic organizations. Yes indeed there are such differences - in the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the international federations of women and youth, the world peace movement, and others.

We are guided by Lenin who taught us to work wherever there are masses. The CPC letter of September 10 asserts that the differences between the Chinese and Soviet comrades in respect to the work of these organizations is allegedly in essence "to fight or not to fight resolutely against imperialism headed by the USA - to render or not to render resolute aid to the broad masses in their struggle for national independence and democracy, etc."

This is an utterly false assertion. The Soviet comrades have never and no where doubted the necessity of a resolute struggle against imperialism, for national independence of the oppressed peoples, for democracy, for rallying broad masses to the struggle for peace and international cooperation. On the contrary, the Soviet representatives in all these organizations are guided by these aims. The question is while guided by these general aims, it is necessary to correctly decide the question of what concrete aims and tasks may be set and on what plane, to the particular organization depending on the public forces which it will unite, on the character of the organization, etc.

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The setting or the imposing of alien tasks and slogans may sometimes lead to reverse results and set these organizations against us and narrow down the front of struggle.

The Chinese comrades hold that each of these organizations should "raise aloft the banner of the struggle against imperialism" (CPC letter of September 10). The actual fact that not every one of these organizations is capable of working under an anti-imperialist banner. What would happen to the broad peace movement if such slogan would be imposed? It would not draw the masses from the main task slogan for peace. It would repel the majority in the final analysis and lead to the loss of influence by Communists.

We should strive to convince the people to struggle against imperialism. But as Lenin said "... it is the task of Communists to be able to convince the backward, to be able to work among them and not to fence ourselves off from them by invented childish slogans." (Collective Works, Russian Edition, Volume 31, p. 36.)

(Here there were examples of what would happen in the peace movement if the Chinese comrades' line was followed)

Chinese comrades mistreated publicly World Peace Council President Professor John Bernal (last May in Stockholm). Bernal was charged that he is in "complicity with the United States imperialists." Lenin prize winner Lundquist, the progressive Swedish author, said openly to the Presidium members, "If you do not stop Cheng Shen-Yi, I shall refuse to work on the World Peace Council." James Endicott, the Canadian clergyman, was bullied and questioned as to why he did not condemn United States imperialism. He too threatened to quit the World Peace Council unless the Chinese comrades stopped their present tactical abuse.

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If we follow the Chinese line we would retain in the peace movement only those who share our idea of national liberation wars and just wars and those who want to change bourgeois democracy into peoples democracy, in short those who believe in socialism, Marxism-Leninism and revolution. Such a course would lead to isolation. The fraternal parties oppose such policy of work in the peace movement.

To unite people in mass organizations it is necessary to display greater patience, tact and flexibility, to take account of those who think differently.

In the youth meeting too (Moscow, September, 1960), the Chinese comrades demanded the inclusion of a statement that the most important task of the youth in the world is to fight against United States imperialism. This movement of youth is made up of liberal, socialist, progressive, and other bourgeois elements, Christians, Moslems, Quakers, etc.

To demand signatures of such people that they will support "just wars", would drive them away. Some of these people are against all wars. Only cooperation with such organizations and people will build the peace movement or any other movement. Bravery should be shown by deeds not words.

The main task is to rally the millions of masses and lead them in a struggle for durable peace.

We hope the Chinese comrades will in the end realize that this Leninist line is correct.

ON THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS: The CPSU considers the international working class movement the most important force in the anti-imperialist struggle. At the World Trade Union Congress, the Soviet representatives exposed colonialism and called for a fight on imperialism. (The letter cites these examples - at the 4th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Soviet delegate led in the fight against aggressive imperialist operations of the USA; another example - 1959, even when Khrushchev was in the U.S.)

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

Therefore, the Chinese comrades resort to slanderous fabrications when they speak of servility and connivance on the part of Soviet comrades in international organizations with regard to the imperialists. The CPSU stand was clearly defined at the 20th and 21st Congresses.

In their letter of September 10th, the Chinese comrades asserted that "...the Soviet comrades... withhold active support from the national democratic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America." This assertion is simply monstrous.

Everyone knows about the consistent Soviet fight against colonialism and in the interests of oppressed and dependent people since its beginning as a state. It carries on the struggle unflaggingly today.

Immediately after World War II, the Soviet Government came out for independence for Syria, Lebanon, and the former Italian colonies. It championed the freedom of Indonesia, etc., etc. And now who is the champion of the people fighting for independence?

(Here letter cites an example of the Soviet Union's struggle in the 15th Assembly of the United Nations.)

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

The draft declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial people submitted to the United Nations by the Soviet Government, is an historic landmark on the road to complete and final elimination of the barbarous colonialist system from the life of mankind.

The CCCPC is well aware of the Soviet Union's great moral and material assistance, including the supply of arms, to the peoples of Cuba, Algeria, Egypt, Iraq and other countries risen against imperialism. This material and concrete aid is far more important to the national liberation struggle (movement) than the advancing of high-sounding slogans which are not always backed by practical actions and lead in effect to a narrowing of the common anti-imperialist front.

The Soviet Union's ties with peoples of the colonies and dependent countries are growing closer. There is a continuous flow of delegations from various public organizations of Asia, Africa and Latin American countries and of parliamentary and government delegations which express deep gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Government for the aid and support they received. The Soviet public takes part in all the solidarity movements of the Afro-Asian countries and adds to the unity of the national liberation movement.

(Here the letter cites Soviet participation in conferences in 1957-58-59, etc.)

The CPC should respect facts and figures. Ask the patriots of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq and other countries who fight for their liberation. What aid and assistance they receive from the Soviet people. The Chinese comrades attempt to cast doubt during negotiations with responsible national liberation movements including bourgeois leaders is shameful and inadmissible.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

The CPSU and the Soviet Government uses a variety of ways, forms and methods in the struggle against the war danger. But the chief maker of history is the people, above all the working class. In the struggle for peace and disarmament we and other parties mobilize millions, calling on them to fight the aggressive imperialist and militarist forces.

But reliance on the masses does not preclude talks on disarmament and detente with the Eisenhowers, Macmillans, Montgomerys and other representatives of capitalist states. Renunciation of such talks would, if anything, play into the hands of those who wish for greater international tensions and war and would be detrimental to the struggle for peace.

RELATIONS BETWEEN FRATERNAL PARTIES: The CPC letter expresses the desire to promote the unity of the world Communist movement. We welcome that. Unfortunately we must point out that this statement is not supported with practical deeds.

Chinese actions behind the backs of other parties were brought out at Bucharest. After Bucharest the facts show that your functionaries continued to ignore the majority of fraternal parties and to circulate abroad articles in the Chinese press which were criticized at Bucharest. The June 28 and August 13 "Jenmin Jihpao" editorials criticize the Bucharest meeting. The September 10 letter also minimizes the Bucharest meeting. You virtually declare that you are not going to take the opinion of the majority of fraternal parties into consideration.

This approach to the issue on the part of the CPC is deeply regretted by our party, and we think by other fraternal parties as well.

Your scornful attitude of the majority of Communist parties is in sharp contrast to the Leninist concept of unity of the world Communist movement.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

It would be impossible to achieve unity of the world Communist movement unless every Marxist-Leninist party respects the opinion of the majority. Lenin said "unity must be based on class discipline, recognition of the will of the majority and a concerted effort together and in step with that majority." (Collected Works, Russian Edition, Volume 20, Page 211) (There were additional quotations from Lenin at this point in regard to unity).

The Leninist principle of respect for majority opinion fully retains its validity and moreover, has assumed special significance in the world Communist movement today.

The experience of the postwar years shows that the Communist parties voluntarily and consciously strive for joint action and devise new forms of fraternal cooperation in accordance with changed conditions. They meet and on the basis of collective experience issue declarations, determine a common strategy and tactics in struggle for common goals.

A disregard for the opinion of the majority of the fraternal parties is fraught with a split, with the disruption of unity in the ranks of the world Communist movement. The fraternal parties cannot therefore accept your position.

The CPSU stresses equality of parties and fraternal relations based on proletarian internationalism.

Your statement that the CCCPSU arbitrarily imposes its view on others and that it violates the equality of relations between fraternal parties is an unsubstantiated makeup from beginning to end. It is amazing how lightly you fling grave accusations such as that at the CPSU although you have nothing to bear them out.

The CCCPSU considers that the bold statement of yours is intended to cover up your own violations of the principle of equality and comradely cooperation between fraternal parties.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

There are no superior and subordinate parties, no leaders and led, in the world Communist movement. This was firmly stated at the 21st Congress of our Party. All fraternal parties know that it was our Party which on the eve of its 21st Congress suggested refraining from the use of the formula "led by the CPSU, led by the Soviet Union."

The CPSU has used initiative in collective discussions to achieve common views on strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties. This is our practice.

If there is anyone who evinces a tendency to occupy a special position in the world Communist movement and abuses the trust of fraternal parties, facts show that it is rather the comrades from the CCCPC. It is you, judging by your letter of September 10, who consider your views to be the only correct ones, to be a criterion of the truth, and who seek to impose them on others and refuse to take account of the collective opinion of fraternal parties.

You showed arrogance and overbearing in claiming credit for alleged services "that uphold the unity of the socialist camp" after the 20th Congress criticized Stalin's cult of the personality. According to your letter the CCCPSU has been committing one series of errors and miscalculations after another but thanks to your April articles you brought clarity into the "confusion" which is supposed to have prevailed in the world Communist movement prior to the appearance of your articles. You sure claim a lot of credit. Confusion does exist but only in the minds of those who wrote these articles.

The CPSU, which Lenin reared in a spirit of proletarian internationalism, will, as in the past, promote the solid unity of the world Communist movement and comradely cooperation of all fraternal parties, not in words but by deeds. It is our firm belief that such unity can be achieved only if each party respects the opinion of the majority of the fraternal parties.

- 41 -

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE CHINESE PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC: The CCCPSU consistently pursues a policy of support-  
ing the Chinese Peoples Republic. We have been rendering it  
material and technical assistance in socialist construction  
since the Chinese Peoples Republic was founded. We consist-  
ently back China in the international arena, championing  
the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United  
Nations.

Decisive significance for our relations is the  
message which Comrade Khrushchev sent to President Eisenhower  
to the effect that if the United States attacked China, the  
Soviet Union would regard it as an attack on itself and  
would draw the appropriate conclusions. Nikita S. Khrushchev  
said as much in the talk he had at Camp David.

Yet your letter presents the entire policy of the  
CPSU and the Soviet Union towards the CPC and the Chinese  
Peoples Republic in a false light. You make free to declare  
that the CCCPSU has "organized a worldwide anti-Chinese  
campaign."

The Chinese were first to take their differences  
with us to the public forum and started a propaganda campaign  
abroad through their publications attacking the decisions  
of the 20th Congress and the major theses of the Moscow  
Declaration (1957) and the Peace Manifesto.

(Here the letter again cites the factional  
struggle carried on by the CPC in the WFTU.)

Now you allege that the CCCPSU extends the existing  
ideological differences to the sphere of state relations  
between China and the Soviet Union. What is more, you  
pretend that we use our economic and technical assistance as  
a means of exerting pressure. You attribute to us a deviation  
from the principles of proletarian internationalism without  
producing evidence of it, and citing nothing but the recall

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

of Soviet specialists from the Chinese Peoples Republic, although you were to blame for it. You reduced our valuable and varied assistance to the question of specialists.

No one can dispute our all around assistance to the Chinese Peoples Republic, helping to build socialism. You know well that this assistance is really unprecedented in scope. We touch on it because you raised it.

Our people have gone through terrible hardships and sustained tremendous losses in the great patriotic war, deprived themselves of much that they needed to help the newly-established Chinese Peoples Republic. We delivered most-up-to-date equipment and materials - even if we reduced opportunities for developing our own economy. Today in China we can see many modern Soviet machines and tools that are unique - the very latest.

The Soviet Union helped build the Chinese defense plant - sometimes even short in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union supplied first-rate technical equipment for 291 industrial enterprises and about 60 large separate enterprises and all installations. The following units were built in the Chinese Peoples Republic with Soviet assistance: Power plants with about three million kilowatts, works for the production of eight million tons of pig iron, seven million tons of steel, and 40,000 tons of aluminum a year, for the production of heavy machinery with an annual capacity in excess of the 60,000 tons, for the production of modern steam and hydraulic turbines and generators for them. In 1959, industrial enterprises built or reconstructed with Soviet aid accounted for the following percentages of China's over-all output: Pig iron, steel and rolled stock 35-40, aluminum 100, trucks and tractors about 85, synthetic ammonia about 50, electricity 40, power equipment about 45, and heavy machinery up to 35.

With Soviet assistance, China has set up the following branches of modern defense industry; shipbuilding, aircraft, tank, artillery, radar, ammunition, and other military equipment.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

Other socialist countries, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, etc., contributed a good deal to China's industrial equipment.

The Soviet Union continues to extend technical assistance to the Chinese Peoples Republic in the building of thermal and hydro-power stations, iron and steel works, rolling mills, aluminum and copper plants, coal and shale mines, ammonia, sulphuric acid and synthetic rubber plants, heavy machinery and equipment works enterprises producing oil, chemical and other types of equipment, metal cutting lathes, automobiles, tractors, big electrical machines, turbines, and generators and enterprises of various branches of the modern defense industry.

While in the letter you say thanks but you try to deprecate the character of our assistance.

The Chinese Peoples Republic sends goods and raw materials to the Soviet Union in return. We never belittled the importance of deliveries of non-ferrous and rare metals and some other goods but these things are not important to the Soviet economy. We increased our order from year to year for Chinese consumer goods but really have no use for it. In 1959 these purchases amounted to 1,700 million rubles. We did it to make it easier for the Chinese side to pay for deliveries. The Chinese Peoples Republic had no other market for these things. We also sent to China scientific and technical aid, 10,000 sets of documentation containing the latest achievements of science and technology, these included 1,200 designs of enterprises and buildings, about 4,000 sets of drawings of machines and equipment together with licenses and thousands of sets of technological specifications. A conservative estimate of all this documentation is worth at least 6,000 million rubles but it is not a mere matter of cash value but 43 years experience accumulated by our scientists and engineers and workers. We also sent highly qualified specialists from various branches of the national economy although they were badly needed in the Soviet Union.

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

In the past this was highly appreciated. Mao said so - even said we give too much - reduce by 30 per cent everything we ask for. Now the CPC says in the letter of September 10 "This is nothing to boast about or put on airs" regarding the assistance from the USSR.

We reject these slanders with indignation. The letter slanderously describes our Party's "great power ways." This is how our internationalist duty is described. We are proud of China's achievements as if they were our own, but think the Chinese people should be informed about the contribution made by the fraternal socialist countries to the development of the industrial might of the Chinese Peoples Republic.

The Chinese comrades take assistance for granted but forget that internationalist duties are always reciprocal. Emphasizing the thesis that socialism has to be built primarily by one's own efforts and saying nothing about mutual assistance and cooperation will scarcely help to combat nationalist sentiments and educate the working people in the spirit of internationalism.

On the question of the recall of the Soviet specialists you have gone so far as to say that "the truth of Marxism-Leninism cannot be bought for any money" and that "Chinese comrades will never trade in principles."

You talk as if the CPSU seeks to reduce the CPC to push it off the path of Marxism-Leninism and uses this economic and technical assistance and the recall of the specialists for this end. This is an absurd concoction - unheard of charges - an expose of this charge is vital to the socialist camp.

ON SPECIALISTS AND THE REASON FOR THE WITHDRAWAL:  
It was impossible for them to stay in China. The CPSU and the Soviet Union never approached the sending of specialists as a commercial transaction - back in 1956 and later in

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

August, 1958, the Chinese Peoples Republic approached and asked that our specialists be returned. In 1958, it appeared that the Chinese Peoples Republic was not satisfied with our advisors and specialists. It was our desire to remove even the slightest causes that could harm the unity of our countries. We suggested that the specialists come home. All the peoples democracies agreed - but China requested that they stay. In 1960, the Chinese comrades began to work amongst our Soviet specialists, to foist their views upon them on the controversial questions and setting them against the CCCPSU. This made the stay impossible. We resented this, then warned the Chinese comrades and in a note gave our opinion on the matter. It was only when the specialists began leaving that we received your note, and like before, you asked us to allow the specialists to stay but you insisted on the right to carry on propaganda amongst them. We were finally convinced that withdrawal was necessary.

We were informed of unfriendly acts that were committed against the specialists - These were incompatible with both our treaty obligations and the norms of accepted relations between socialist countries.

Recommendations of Soviet specialists, who demanded that technical standards and rules be observed, were often described as "conservative" and "backward". Many of their proposals were ignored. Here is one of many proposals or examples that were ignored: In 1959 during the installation and starting up of a turbo generator at the Luayang Thermal Power Station; the station building was not ready for operations in the winter due to the fact that the specialists' advice was ignored. The specialists were backed by the Center, but this, too, had no effect. As a result, within a half year, the turbine was stopped.

Despite recommendations of Soviet specialists the institution of foremen was abolished at many industrial establishments. In many plants built according to our

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Re: Contents of a Letter of the  
CPSU dated November 5, 1960

designs and machinery, technical conditions and standards were ignored leading to the wreckage of machines and installations. There were major accidents accompanied by loss of life. At the construction sites of Tssinantsiang and Sinfuntsiang recommendations were ignored - warnings were ignored - lives lost. At the Tssinantsiang hydro power stations, thousands of tons of rocks caved in - work was held up for a long period. At Sinfuntsiang, bulkheads collapsed and were washed away and the pit was flooded because advice was ignored. Accidents were accompanied by loss of life.

This being so and since China ignored advice but also developed their own specialists during eleven years, we recalled our specialists from the Chinese Peoples Republic. You hoisted the "white flag" on some specialists, etc. The Soviet side spared no effort to overcome the friction but to no avail.

In regard to the friendship magazine, we do not interfere in your internal affairs, but you insisted on doing this in all the socialist countries.

(In conclusion, this letter sets forth a desire for "cohesion and unity of our two parties" and other fraternal parties.) We always strive for this but we are against actions of any one party that breaks this unity or resorts to actions that weaken the solidarity of the socialist camp, or the international Communist movement. We and other fraternal parties are seriously alarmed by your actions that destroy unity. We cannot leave to the "verdict of history", as Chinese comrades say, to judge who is right or wrong.

We cherish friendship and believe we can remove all disagreements on the basis of the implementation of the common line all fraternal parties agree upon. Friendship of parties is necessary to historic importance for world socialist system and the interest of international socialism. A community of views is necessary for the two biggest countries, the Chinese Peoples Republic and the USSR.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director

Mr. Tolson  
1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 9, 1961

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy  
Room 3143  
Department of Justice Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum setting out the brusque remarks of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to representatives of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at a banquet in the Kremlin will be of interest to you. The sharp conflict of views between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is reiterated by Khrushchev. My letter of December 30, 1960, furnished you with information concerning this ideological dispute between the CPC and the CPSU.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This is being furnished you for information.

Sincerely,

Enclosure (Unclassified)

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of our source, CG 5824-S\*, would seriously impair the national defense efforts of our country.

JWL:kmo  
(8)

~~TOP SECRET~~

DELIVERED BY C. A. EVANS

DATE

1-9-61

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- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade
- 1 - Liaison

January 9, 1961

BY LIAISON

Honorable Gordon Gray  
Special Assistant to the President  
Executive Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gray:

SOLO

Gordon H. Chase

Classified by

Declassify on

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3/4/80

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum setting out the brusque remarks of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to representatives of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at a banquet in the Kremlin will be of interest to you. The sharp conflict of views between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is reiterated by Khrushchev. My letter of December 23, 1960, furnished you with information concerning this ideological dispute between the CPC and the CPSU. (U)

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis. (U)

I am making available this information to other appropriate officials of the Government. (U)

Sincerely yours,

100-428091-1097

6 JAN 10 1961

Enclosure

100-428091  
JWL:bgs

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

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50 JAN 18 1961

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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Gordon Gray

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize our highly placed informant, CG 5824-S\*, and would result in causing considerable grave danger to our national defense.

~~S~~ (U)

- 2 -

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Parsons  
Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison Section  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 9, 1961

BY LIAISON

Honorable Christian A. Herter  
The Secretary of State  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Herter:

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum setting out the brusque remarks of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to representatives of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at a banquet in the Kremlin will be of interest to you. The sharp conflict of views between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is reiterated by Khrushchev. My letter of December 23, 1960, furnished you with information concerning this ideological dispute between the CPC and the CPSU.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

I am making available this information to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

100-428091

Enclosure

JWL:bgc:lel

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Christian A. Herter

(Unclassified)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize our highly placed informant CG 5824-S\* and would result in causing considerable grave danger to our national defense.

~~TOP SECRET~~

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1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. LaPrade  
1 - Liaison

January 9, 1961

BY LIAISON

ST  
C  
Mr. Allen W. Dulles  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Administration Building  
2430 E Street, N. W.  
Washington 25, D. C.

*orig. & attach  
delivered to Dulles  
1/10/61  
ADP*

SOLO

Dear Allen:

I believe the information contained in the enclosed memorandum setting out the brusque remarks of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to representatives of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at a banquet in the Kremlin will be of interest to you. The sharp conflict of views between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is reiterated by Khrushchev. Extensive information concerning this ideological dispute between the CPC and the CPSU was furnished to you on December 28, 1960.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA. Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosure be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

REC-40

I am making available this information to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

100-428091

JWL:bgc (7)

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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~~TOP SECRET~~

Mr. Allen W. Dulles

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize our highly placed informant, CG 5824-S\*, and would result in causing considerable grave danger to our national defense.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: January 3, 1961

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub F)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Rebulet 5/4/60 instructing that details concerning disbursements of funds in the possession of CG 5824-S\* be submitted to the Bureau by the fifth of the month following the month being reported.

There were no transactions involving the funds in the possession of CG 5824-S\* during the month of December, 1960. The balance in possession of CG 5824-S\* remains as it was as of November 1, 1960. This figure is \$103,445.00.

- ② - Bureau (RM) (AM)
  - 1 - Chicago
- JEK:LMA  
(3)

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EX-112  
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59 JAN 13 1961

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JAN 5 1961

INT SEC

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1 - Mr. Parsons 1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. Belmont 1 - Mr. LaPrade  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: January 9, 1961  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Solo

1-9-61  
delivered  
over

Reference is made to information recently furnished you concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute.

There are enclosed for your additional information a memorandum setting out a speech given on October 5, 1960, by TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC); a memorandum setting out a speech given on October 8, 1960, by Mikhail Suslov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); and a memorandum setting out an exchange of arguments which occurred between representatives of the CPC and the CPSU on October 17 and 18, 1960. These speeches and exchange of arguments showing the deep-seated ideological differences between Russia and China occurred at sessions of the Editorial Commission which met in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures (3)

Tolson  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Callahan  
DeLoach  
Malone  
McGuire  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

1 - Director (Enclosures 3)  
Central Intelligence Agency BY LIAISON

59 JAN 13 1961

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosures 3) BY LIAISON

JWL:kmo (12)

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SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosures 3) BY LIAISON  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

to OSI, 1-9-61  
JWC

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosures 3)  
Department of the Army

BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

To ACSZ, 1-7-61  
2)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

This letter and enclosures are ~~classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosure furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was received as enclosures to three airtels from Chicago all dated 1-3-61 and captioned "Solo, IS-C."

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~



FBI

Date: 12/29/60

REC-9

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies, and to the New York Division one copy, of a letterhead memorandum containing the remarks of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV at a banquet in the Kremlin on October 22, 1960.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 12/28/60. CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN were the only representatives of the CP, USA present at this banquet. No notes were taken at the banquet by anyone. While KHRUSHCHEV repeated some of these remarks at a reception for representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 12/60, CG 5824-S\* had committed the remarks of KHRUSHCHEV to memory.

For the reasons stated above and in compliance with instructions contained in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "secret"~~. The place of issue is reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in re Bulet. (Unclassified)

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)
- 100-134637 (SOLO)
- 1 - Chicago
- JEK:jem
- (5)

REC-9

EX-117

1-11-1961  
18 DEC 31 1960

Approved

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

62 JAN 13 1961



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File 100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
December 29, 1960

~~SECRET~~

REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
DELEGATES WHO PARTICIPATED IN  
THE MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL  
COMMISSION.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has provided the following information.

The work of the representatives of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties on the Commission to prepare a draft for the November, 1960 meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, was officially completed on October 22, 1960. On that date this Commission, which was known as the Editorial Commission, produced a Draft Declaration. The Draft Declaration was a revision of a draft presented to this Commission by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on September 30, 1960 at the opening session of the Editorial Commission. The work of the Editorial Commission continued until October 30, 1960, however, the remaining days were spent in the preparation of the draft of a Peace Manifesto.

The CPSU arranged for a banquet for all those who participated in the work of the Editorial Commission. The banquet took place on the evening of October 22, 1960 in the Hall of the Murals of the Saints in the Kremlin.

It was learned from various representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) that the CPSU hoped that the banquet would serve to dull the sharp edges resulting from the clashes in the sessions of the Editorial Commission during the preceeding weeks.

At this time, Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU had recently returned from the meeting of the 15th Assembly of the United Nations and had not participated in any sessions of the Editorial Commission. Obviously, the CPSU had made prior arrangements so that Khrushchev would enter the hall as the delegates from the Communist Party of China (CPC) were entering the hall.

100-428091-1082  
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
DELEGATES WHO PARTICIPATED  
IN THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION

~~SECRET~~

Khrushchev embraced ~~TENG~~ Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the CPC and addressed him as, my old friend. In like manner, Khrushchev greeted the other members of the delegation representing the CPC and addressed ~~KANG~~ Sheng, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPC, as, my old friend, the big debater.

CHINA  
RUSSIA

It is the opinion of the source, that this was an effort on the part of the CCCPSU to "break the ice" before the banquet started. The CPSU was attempting to disarm and to quiet the representatives of the CPC in the hope that the disputes between the CPSU and the CPC could be settled informally and quietly. The CPSU wanted to avoid a sharp clash in the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties since such a clash might become known throughout the entire world.

The total attendance at the banquet was less than 150 people. The attendance was limited to the members of the Presidium of the CCCPSU, the delegates from the twenty six Parties who participated in the work of the Editorial Commission and the translators who worked with the Editorial Commission. The representatives of the CPSU and the CPC sat at the head table.

Nikita Khrushchev made several toasts and utilized the occasion for a debate with the representatives of the CPC. Khrushchev made a toast to the success of the Editorial Commission. He drank a toast to the delegates from all the Parties present at this banquet.

One of the toasts made by Khrushchev was to the Communist Party of the United States (CP, USA). He said, I want to toast the American delegation, Elizabeth (Gurley Flynn), are you there? Then he drank a toast to the CP, USA.

The source advised that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is a Vice Chairman and member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

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REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
DELEGATES WHO PARTICIPATED  
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EDITORIAL COMMISSION

~~SECRET~~

The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Then Khrushchev made an extemporaneous speech and the following is the essence of his remarks.

Well, wise men, I hear that you produced a document. I have not read it yet but people tell me that it is supposed to be a good document. Well, what is a wise man? We would probably have a hard time agreeing on what a wise man is or whether those who prepared this document are wise men.

There is a story in our land about a commission trying to get a definition of a wise man. The commission went to one peasant and asked him, tell us, what is a wise man? The peasant asked if the commission had in mind a man who can make bread. The commission replied that their idea of a wise man would be a professor or a professional man. The peasant said that he who cannot make bread is not a wise man. The commission went to another peasant and asked the same question. This peasant asked if the man the commission had in mind could make shoes. The reply was that the person should do something else. The peasant replied that a wise man would know how to make shoes. The commission asked another person for a definition of a wise man. This person asked if the commission had in mind a person who makes bricks. When the answer was no, the person said that he is not a wise man who cannot make bricks.

Khrushchev used other examples such as spoons, forks, and other items to illustrate that one person's definition of a wise man can depend on the needs of that person. Then Khrushchev continued.

I tell you this story because it is difficult to say who is a wise man, if such a man has to meet all of the qualifications. Let us assume that collectively all of you have the qualities that wise men are supposed to have and you produced a good document. I understand that you had

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REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
DELEGATES WHO PARTICIPATED  
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EDITORIAL COMMISSION

~~SECRET~~

some very serious arguments. For example, you argued over whether you should include in the document the phrase, the leading Party, the CPSU. Or you argued over whether to include a phrase such as, with the Soviet Union at the head. We also understand that you argued about what the Chinese Comrades called the father and son relationship between Parties. What the devil do you need a lead Party for? Why do you need the phrase, led by? First of all, we are supposed to be materialists and we do not believe in the supernatural. But you want to set up somebody or some personality that is supposed to lead you. What do you want? Are you looking to the creation of a God on earth? Are you trying to create a demi-God in the form of the cult of the personality? This is something we just got rid of, Stalin's personality. Or have you some other insidious motive in mind? You, my dear good friend Comrade Ping, should remember that we Russians had proposed to eliminate such phraseology. As far as we are concerned, all fraternal parties are equal. Following our philosophy, we did not preach the elimination of Gods from the heavens to create them on earth.

What do you want a head for? I can surmise why you want it. Maybe you want somebody to blame when things go wrong. Blame the head. What do you want a head for? Somebody you can piss on?

Well, you keep on insisting you want to honor us. Maybe you will say we are the head or the leading party because we are the oldest. No thank you. We want no such honors. This is how you Chinese Comrades have set up the father and son theory. If we are to obtain our leadership merely on the basis of age, then, of course, we must be prepared to give way to the younger. The older may get the honors but they get tired. Youth must advance.

~~SECRET~~

REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
DELEGATES WHO PARTICIPATED  
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EDITORIAL COMMISSION

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~~SECRET~~

If this is what you have in mind, Chinese Comrades, keep your honors. If we are in the front, if we are in the lead, it is not only by virtue of age. If we are in the lead, it is because we do new and great things every day.

I want to emphasize again that we do not want to be designated as the head or lead Party or the leading government except insofar as we do things that earn for us something that can be characterized as good or great.

I just came back, as you know, from the 15th Assembly of the United Nations. As you know, I was not very welcome in the United States. But I was thinking to myself, why do some of these poor people to whom I have done no wrong, and never meant to injure, sometimes boo me when I travel along the streets of New York.

In one or two instances, as I was travelling to a meeting of the United Nations, some Negro laborers working on some buildings booed me. Am I an enemy of the Negro people? I began to think and came to the conclusion that there are practical reasons why even the oppressed in the United States, the down trodden like the Negroes, do not understand us and think with the mind of the bourgeoisie.

Maybe some of you wise ones gathered here think you are smart and that you are great because you have big Communist Parties and in some cases you are leaders of governments. Or you think that the Party in the United States or its leadership is not as good as you. You think this is why they have a small Party in the United States or why the working class is not class conscious and is far away from revolution and socialism.

Let me tell you something that you may not know. The American Party leadership is no worse, and I would say in some respects may be better than the leadership of some Parties gathered here in this hall.

~~SECRET~~

REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
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IN THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION

~~SECRET~~

Let me confess something else. If I was in the position of any American Communist leader, let us assume that I even had Elizabeth's job in the American Party, under the circumstances I do not know if I could last two or three days despite my so-called ability.

Never leave objective circumstances and conditions that prevail in a certain country out of consideration. You cannot build a Communist movement or achieve socialism by an edict, or a mere desire or through the raising of some nice sounding slogans.

Maybe it is news to you but the American working class has a high standard of living. Even the unemployed, I understand, very often receive in compensation when they are not working, as much as some of the workers in our country and the other socialist countries, receive when they are working.

It was therefore, easier for me to understand why the American working class is far away from socialism and why some of them even booed me or are hostile to Communism.

The workers are very practical people. I want to relate to you my own experience. As you know, I grew up in a small mining town. My father was a mine worker. I, for a time, worked in the mines. How did we judge leadership, at that time trade union leadership? If someone would fight in our behalf and we were able to get a few more kopecks in pay for our toil, so we could get bread into our stomach, such a person or persons were considered good leaders. This same thinking prevails to this day in most parts of the world.

How are you going to convert the working class in the Western world to the ideas of socialism? You cannot feed them phrases no matter how revolutionary they may sound. You cannot expound the virtues of socialism versus capitalism with mere words. We have to compete with capitalism. We have

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REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
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ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
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EDITORIAL COMMISSION

~~SECRET~~

to build, produce and create a living example so that the working man or woman, even in the most developed capitalist country, will see that socialism is superior to capitalism. Until we do that, until even the most simple minded person can take a look and say, this system of yours, this standard of living, is superior to ours, we will not win the masses of people for socialism in the more advanced capitalist countries.

Sectarian impatience and the condemnation of the workers for being "bribed" by imperialism and because they are not revolutionary enough will accomplish very little for us.

We need peace. The world needs peace. Perhaps there are some of you here who still do not understand the destructiveness of nuclear warfare and who think that you can play the game of Dulles at the brink.

The source advised that at this point, there was a murmur and objections by the delegates from the CPC. Khrushchev continued.

I wish I had the power in words to convince you that war is not the solution to our problems. History works in a peculiar way and it so happens that World War I gave birth to the Soviet socialist state and World War II added a number of other states to the socialist camp. But does this mean that socialism can only be brought about through catastrophe and war?

The pioneers of socialism believed in morality. One of the greatest moral principles of human society is peace. This I do not take out of the Bible. This I found after profound study in the works of Marx, Lenin, Bebel, and Liebknecht. They always fought for peace and showed socialism to be a superior society to capitalism. It was because they believed that only socialism would bring peace to humanity.

~~SECRET~~



REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960, FOR THE  
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EDITORIAL COMMISSION

~~SECRET~~

What makes you think you are going to build a socialist society from the rubble of an atomic war? It is not only an inhuman conception but the very class that is supposed to build this society, the know-how, and the culture, will be destroyed. I want to tell you very frankly and bluntly that if I believed in the theory of socialism through war, and if this was the theory, or the belief of a Communist Party, I would not want to be a member of any such Party.

I believe in socialism. I believe that we can win and we can win in peaceful competition when we will out produce the capitalist world and when we will have the highest standard of living. I hope, therefore, that you wise men here have in your document, which I have still to read, taken into consideration the peculiar situations that exist in each country and above all the uniting and the mobilizing of the people for peace as you mobilize them for socialism. Thus, by example, show that socialism is not merely a utopian dream but something that all peoples of the world will understand at a glance.

The source advised that the remarks of Khrushchev caused a considerable flurry in the hall. Khrushchev and the delegates from the CPC argued back and forth. There was a running debate with Khrushchev and TENG Hsiao-ping trying to out toast each other.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

100-428091

BY LIAISON

*ST*  
*9*  
Date: January 10, 1961  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*1-11-61*  
*Delivered*  
*2-11-61*

Reference is made to my letter of January 9, 1961,  
furnishing you with information concerning the Sino-Soviet  
dispute.

Enclosed for your additional information are six  
memoranda which set out details of occurrences at meetings  
on September 30, October 1, 4, 5, 6 and 10, 1960, of the  
Editorial Commission which met in St. George Hall in the  
Kremlin in Moscow, Russia.

*0705*  
This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive  
source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of  
the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it  
is requested that the contents of this communication and the  
enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted  
to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures (6)

REC-4 100-428091-1083

1 - Director (Enclosures 6)  
Central Intelligence Agency BY LIAISON

19 JAN 11 1961

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosures 6) BY LIAISON

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:kmd (11)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM

JAN 13 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

Office of Security  
Department of State

*Delivered  
1-11-61 J.C.*

1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosures 6) BY LIAISON  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosures 6)  
Department of the Army BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

*T. AC, 1-11-61*

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

This letter and enclosures are ~~classified~~ ~~Top Secret~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information which is contained in the enclosed memoranda was furnished by CG 5824-S\* and was received as enclosures to six airtels from Chicago, five dated 1-3-61, one dated 1-4-61, all captioned "Solo, IS - C."

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. LaPrade

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B)

January 12, 1961

Director, FBI (100-428091)

**SOLO**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

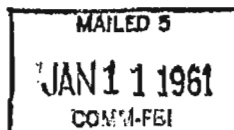
The material currently being furnished by CG 5824-S\* and as submitted to the Bureau by your office in letterhead memoranda evidences good preparation and has facilitated immensely in making expeditious dissemination possible.

The Bureau feels that the speeches of various individuals, although not necessarily complete, should be in quotes since the statements are in the first person. In the future, you are requested to predicate speeches written in the first person with the statement "The following is the essence of his remarks as supplied by the source" and then quote the speech.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

The Chicago Office has been submitting voluminous material in letterhead memoranda containing information supplied by CG 5824-S\*. This material has been well prepared and a minimum of errors have been noted. A number of the memoranda contained speeches of various delegates attending conferences in Moscow. These speeches were recorded in the first person and although it is understood the informant does not have the complete statements of the speaker, it is felt the speeches should be quoted since they are in the first person. Taking them out of the first person would lose some of the meaning and effect of the speeches. It is deemed desirable to predicate future material and quote it as noted in this letter.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



REC-93

100-428091-1084  
JAN 11 1961  
JWL:kma  
(4)  
50 JAN 13 1961

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

RA  
The Attorney General 1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont January 11, 1961  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
Director, FBI 1 - Mr. LaPrade

05010  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

I thought you would be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Recent correspondence supplied you with information in this matter. This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

On September 28, 1960, representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) held a secret meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, at which they briefed selected delegates of communist and workers' parties who had assembled to prepare a document for the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which also met in Moscow.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium, CCCPSU, outlined at this meeting the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. He related that the situation between the two parties was quite aggravated and growing worse. He charged that the delegation of the CPC had circulated a 165-page document dated September 10, 1960, which was full of slanderous charges against the CPSU. He noted the Chinese had also created some border incidents. Pospelov did not go into detail about the border incidents although he placed the blame on the Chinese.

It was later determined through representatives of the CCCPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960.

MAILED 27  
JAN 12 1961  
COMM-FBI  
Tolson  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Callahan  
DeLoach  
Malone  
McGuire  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

100-428091

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:knp

JAN 12 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

JAN 11 10 27 PM '61

RECEIVED READING ROOM

JAN 12 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Attorney General

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is also being made available to the Honorable Gordon Gray, the Special Assistant to the President; the Honorable Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of State; and Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

- 1 - Mr. Charles K. Rice  
Acting Deputy Attorney General

NOTE ON YELLOW: (Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-3-61 captioned "Solo, IS-C" and was supplied by CG 5824-S\*. Most of the information contained in the enclosure to this airtel concerning the issues of dispute between the CPSU and the CPC was previously disseminated on 12-23-60 as contained in a CPSU letter of 11-5-60. Information in instant letter is only information not previously disseminated.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, captioned "Solo, IS-C," dated 1-11-61, JWL:bgc.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison Section  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 11, 1961

BY LIAISON

*Gordon H. Gray*  
*1/16/88 RFA/mg*  
*3/4/80*  
*F 86/184*

Honorable Gordon Gray  
Special Assistant to the President  
Executive Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gray:

I thought you would be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Recent correspondence supplied you with information in this matter. This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

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BY COURIER SVC.  
27 JAN 1961  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(100-428091) ~~(U)~~ ~~(U)~~  
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

JWL:kmo  
(7)

51 JAN 16 1961 94

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JAN 11 4 28 PM '61

(U)

EX-113

19 JAN 12 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Gordon Gray

It was later determined through representatives of the CCCPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960. ~~(U)~~

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis. u

This information is being made available to other appropriate officials of the Government. u

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. ~~(U)~~

Information contained in enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-3-61 captioned "Solo, IS-C" and was supplied by CG 5824-S\*. Most of the information contained in the enclosure to this airtel concerning the issues of dispute between the CPSU and the CPC was previously disseminated on 12-23-60 as contained in a CPSU letter of 11-5-60. Information in instant letter is only information not previously disseminated. <sup>(U)</sup>

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, captioned="Solo, IS-C," dated 1-11-61, JWL:bgc.

~~(U)~~

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 11, 1961

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Rusk:

I thought you would be interested in information which has been obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA, concerning the dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). This information was supplied by extremely sensitive sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

For the past two years there has been a conflict of views between the CPC and the CPSU. At first, this conflict was an ideological one; however, proceedings and discussions which took place at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in June, 1960, in Bucharest, Rumania, and the Conference of Communist Parties which immediately followed brought this conflict out into the open and disclosed that it was more deep-seated than at first believed. Prior to the Conference of Communist Parties in Rumania, the CPSU issued a letter dated June 21, 1960, to all other communist parties which dealt with the ideological dispute between the CPC and the CPSU. Among the disagreements set out in this letter were those pertaining to the Chinese communes and the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. The letter was read at the Conference and touched off a heated discussion among the delegates, particularly those delegates from China and the Soviet Union.

In July, 1960, Boris Ponomarev, who is in charge of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU and who attended the Conference, commented on the

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Callahan  
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Malone  
McGuire  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
W.C. Sullivan  
Tele. Room  
Ingram  
Gandy

100-428091

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 6

62 JAN 11 1961

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Honorable Dean Rusk

differences between the CPC and the CPSU. He stated the CPSU does not agree with the expressed views of the Chinese when they say that (1) war is possible and even inevitable; (2) United States imperialism will resort to war; (3) to talk of coexistence and disarmament is to create illusions; and (4) the nature of imperialism has not changed. Ponomarev accused the Chinese of being critical of the Soviet Union in their provincial press and objected to the Chinese accusation that the CPSU had a one-sided line on "peaceful transition to socialism."

During the Bucharest Conference, Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and PENG Chen, Vice-Chairman and Secretary General of the Standing Committee of the CPC, engaged in a running debate of their disagreements. Khrushchev indicated that the Soviet Union was concerned because of an aggravation of differences that existed between China and India over border conflicts. He stated that he could not agree with the CPC on its views that peace and coexistence are impossible; that imperialism has totality over the world; and that as long as imperialism exists, war is inevitable.

While engaged in the heated discussion with PENG Chen, Khrushchev accused the Chinese of refusing to allow the Russians to build a radio station on Chinese territory. Khrushchev added that the Russians wanted to build a radio station in order to keep in contact with the Russian submarine fleet; that the Chinese comrades refused the Russians this permission; and that the Chinese stated they would build the station but had never done so.

PENG Chen, in defending the position of the Chinese, announced at the Conference that China had entered into agreements with Burma and Nepal and that soon China would be able to produce thirty million tons of steel annually. PENG Chen went on to praise the Chinese communes and stated that other communist parties should not interfere in the internal affairs of China just because they did not approve of the communes.

Despite the discussions which took place at the Bucharest Conference and the efforts to close the breach, the Conference ended without any settlement of the conflict

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Honorable Dean Rusk

of views between the two parties. The CPSU then decided to set up a commission to explore these disagreements in an effort to reconcile the divergent views expressed by the CPC and the CPSU.

A commission to prepare a document for the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Moscow, Russia, during October, 1960. This commission was represented by delegates from 26 communist and workers' parties. The commission was assigned the task of preparing a document which would show unity among the communist parties. Prior to this, the CPC is known to have set out its position in this dispute in a letter dated September 10, 1960, directed to the CPSU. This October, 1960, meeting ended with strong differences still existing between the CPC and the CPSU.

A banquet was held in the Kremlin on the evening of October 22, 1960, for the individuals who attended the October meeting. At that time, Premier Khrushchev again engaged in arguments with representatives of the CPC. The Chinese were chastised for having caused trouble over phraseology concerning the leading communist party. He stated that as far as Russia is concerned, all fraternal parties are equal and the Chinese were apparently desirous of creating gods on earth. Khrushchev reiterated to the Chinese that the world needs peace and accused the Chinese of not understanding the destructiveness of nuclear warfare. He asked if the Chinese thought a socialist society could be built from the rubble of an atomic war. He added that if he believed in the theory of socialism through war and if this were the theory or the belief of a communist party, he would not want to be a member of any such party.

Khrushchev continued that communism can win and will win in peaceful competition when it outproduces the capitalist world and when it has the highest standard of living.

Following the October, 1960, Conference, there was held a Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow which began during the first week of November, 1960, and concluded during the first week of December, 1960. The CPSU, in a letter dated November 5, 1960, issued a stern condemnation of the CPC in answer to the CPC letter of September 10, 1960. This Russian letter was made available to the delegations in attendance at the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

- 3 -

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Honorable Dean Rusk

The essence of this Russian document is that China is warned it bears full responsibility for undermining the unity of world communism in the face of its worst enemy, the United States of America. Peaceful coexistence is defined to China as being against both local wars and a world war; however, revolutionary wars of liberation are held by Russia to be permissible and inevitable. To prevent war, Russia relies on the political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union along with its socialist camp and on the increasing urge for peace as shown by hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries. The CPC is accused of not understanding that the Russian demand for disarmament along with the demand to liquidate the colonial system and to dismantle war bases on foreign territories weakens the oppressor.

This document also outlines in considerable detail the economic assistance given to China. Russia denies that assistance is used as a means of exerting pressure. Soviet technicians were withdrawn from China because the Chinese attempted to foist their views upon them, because unfriendly acts were committed against the specialists and because some of their proposals were ignored. Russia charges that the Chinese also ignored technical advice which resulted in the wreckage of machinery and equipment.

The November Conference ended with the issuance of what is called the Moscow manifesto which attempted to present to the world a show of unity among all communist parties. The CPSU made concessions to the CPC. It was learned, however, that TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the CPC, told Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium of the CPSU, that the CPC cannot make a sudden shift in its line and it may take three to four months or longer to bring about a change of attitude by members of the CPC toward the CPSU. The opinion of leading communist party delegates in Moscow was that the Chinese will demand material concessions from the Russians in the future and future events in Asia and Africa may strengthen the Chinese position. The Russians were said to apparently entertain considerable doubt about the future intentions of the CPC. Most world communist party leaders who were in Moscow agreed that the Sino-Soviet dispute can be resolved only on a state-to-state level and that only MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, can commit China to any agreement.

- 4 -

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Honorable Dean Rusk

Our sources have just advised that on September 28, 1960, representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU held a secret meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow at which they briefed selected delegates of communist and workers' parties who had assembled for the previously mentioned October Conference.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium, outlined at this meeting the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. He related that the situation between the two parties was quite aggravated and growing worse. He charged that the delegation of the CPC had circulated a 165-page document dated September 10, 1960, which was full of slanderous charges against the CPSU. He noted the Chinese had also created some border incidents. Pospelov did not go into detail about the border incidents although he placed the blame on the Chinese.

It was later determined through representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information was furnished in detail to the Department of State on August 10, 1960; December 21, 1960; December 27, 1960; January 9, 1961; and January 11, 1961. Additional information relating to this ideological dispute has been furnished to the Department of State in every instance as soon as it was made available by our sources. Future information in this matter will be made available as it is received.

Sincerely yours,

- 5 -

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Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information, obtained from CG 5824-S\*, could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in New York airtel 8-2-60, New York airtels 12/19 & 20/60 and Chicago airtel 12-29-60, all captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

- 6 -

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1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison Section  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 11, 1961

BY LIAISON

Honorable Christian A. Herter  
The Secretary of State  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Herter:

I thought you would be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Recent correspondence supplied you with information in this matter. This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

On September 28, 1960, representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) held a secret meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, at which they briefed selected delegates of communist and workers' parties who had assembled to prepare a document for the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which also met in Moscow.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium, CCCPSU, outlined at this meeting the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. He related that the situation between the two parties was quite aggravated and growing worse. He charged that the delegation of the CPC had circulated a 165-page document dated September 10, 1960, which was full of slanderous charges against the CPSU. He noted the Chinese had also created some border incidents. Pospelov did not go into detail about the border incidents although he placed the blame on the Chinese.

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DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

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Honorable Christian A. Herter

It was later determined through representatives of the CCCPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960,

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is being made available to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW: (Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-3-61 captioned "Solo, IS-C" and was supplied by CG 5824-S\*. Most of the information contained in the enclosure to this airtel concerning the issues of dispute between the CPSU and the CPC was previously disseminated on 12-23-60 as contained in a CPSU letter of 11-5-60. Information in instant letter is only information not previously disseminated.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, captioned "Solo, IS-C," dated 1-11-61, JWL:bgc.

- 2 -

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~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

January 11, 1961

BY LIAISON

Mr. Allen W. Dulles  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Administration Building  
2430 E Street, N. W.  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Allen:

I thought you would be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Recent correspondence supplied you with information in this matter. This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

On September 28, 1960, representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) held a secret meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, at which they briefed selected delegates of communist and workers' parties who had assembled to prepare a document for the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which also met in Moscow.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium, CCCPSU, outlined at this meeting the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. He related that the situation between the two parties was quite aggravated and growing worse. He charged that the delegation of the CPC had circulated a 165-page document dated September 10, 1960, which was full of slanderous charges against the CPSU. He noted the Chinese had also created some border incidents. Pospelov did not go into detail about the border incidents although he placed the blame on the Chinese.

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SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

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Mr. Allen W. Dulles

It was later determined through representatives of the CCCPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is being made available to other appropriate officials of the Government.

Sincerely,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

~~Classified - Top Secret~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-3-61 captioned "Solo, IS-C" and was supplied by CG 5824-S\*. Most of the information contained in the enclosure to this airtel concerning the issues of dispute between the CPSU and the CPC was previously disseminated on 12-23-60 as contained in a CPSU letter of 11-5-60. Information in instant letter is only information not previously disseminated.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont, captioned "Solo, IS-C," dated 1-11-61, JWL:bgc.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ahb*

DATE: January 10, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*SUBJECT: *SOLO*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	_____
Wick	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

Our informant, CG 5824-S\*, who returned from his eighth Solo mission on 12-17-60, is making available on a daily basis voluminous valuable intelligence information. His two and one half-month mission made possible private consultations with top leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) as well as meetings with other world communist leaders. He was in attendance regularly at secret meetings of selected world communist leaders during October, 1960, in the Kremlin. Thereafter, he attended the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow which was for the primary purpose of reconciling the differences between China and Russia.

Outstanding information supplied by CG 5824-S\* thus far includes: a day-by-day detailed account of the secret meetings held in the Kremlin during October, 1960; a secret letter of the CPSU to the Communist Party of China (CPC) which contains extensive details on the points of difference between the Soviet Union and Communist China; statements made by Soviet Premier Khrushchev to Chinese representatives on 10-22-60 at a closed banquet in the Kremlin; a complete list of world communist leaders in attendance at the October, 1960, secret meetings and a list of delegates at the closed November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties; and information concerning a border incident between Russia and China sometime prior to 8-31-60 when Russian troops were used to drive Chinese communists from Russian territory. No other Government agency has been able to obtain such highly valuable detailed intelligence information on these important developments relating to the deep-seated dispute between China and Russia. *A*

We are still receiving extensive information from CG 5824-S\* concerning this mission. All information is being processed and disseminated expeditiously to top officials of the Government and to

100-428091

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5 JAN 13 1961

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

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59 JAN 17 1961

*5- La Prade*

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

Referral/Direct

interested intelligence agencies of the Government. Our Liaison Section has been advised by representatives of intelligence agencies that our extremely valuable information, because of its unusual intelligence value, is currently being thoroughly analyzed.

ACTION:

Top officials of the Government and interested Government intelligence agencies are being furnished all pertinent information developed on an expeditious basis.

Information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute has been furnished the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy and we are currently preparing a summary concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute for the Honorable Dean Rusk. If you agree, our future dissemination will include these individuals.

*just 7*

*just 7*

*OK 7*

*77*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 6, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

My memorandum 12-7-60 sets forth in detail the receipts and disbursements of funds by the Communist Party, USA, during the month of November, 1960. These funds have been received from the communist countries, Red China and the Soviet Union. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with the receipts and disbursements subsequent to 11-30-60.

SUMMARY

Total received from Soviets 9-58 to 12-31-60	\$524,385	
Total received from Red China 2-60 to 12-31-60	50,000	
Grand total received to 12-31-60	\$574,385	
Total disbursements 10-58 to 12-31-60	411,419	
Balance of Fund 12-31-60		\$162,966*

\*\$59,521 maintained by NY 694-S\* in safety deposit box, New York City and \$103,445 maintained by CG 5824-S\* in safety deposit box, Chicago, Illinois.

DETAILS

Total received from Soviets 9-58 to 11-30-60	\$524,385	
Total Received from Red China 2-60 to 11-30-60	50,000	
Grand total received to 11-30-60	\$574,385	
Total disbursements 10-58 to 11-30-60	371,419	
Balance of Fund 11-30-60		\$202,966

Receipts during December, 1960

100-482091

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

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INT. SEC.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-482091

Disbursements during December, 1960

12/1 - Isadore Wofsy; for use of CP National Office	\$ 5,000.00
12/1 - [redacted] of Chicago as CP; USA investment in [redacted] interest in Manor Motors Co. of Berwyn, Illinois, of which [redacted]	\$15,000.00
12/14 Isadore Wofsy for use of CP National Office	\$10,000.00
12/23 Isadore Wofsy for use of CP National Office	<u>\$10,000.00</u> <u>\$40,000.00</u>
Balance of Fund 12-31-60	<u>\$162,966.00</u>

b6  
b7c

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is being submitted for your information and an up-to-date accounting of these Solo funds will be brought to your attention each month.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: JWS, FPM, JWS, JWS, Q, P, V, RD, JWS, GME, 1/9]*

~~TOP SECRET~~

January 11, 1961

1 - Director  
1 - Mr. Tolson  
1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy  
Room 3143  
Department of Justice Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I thought you would be interested in the following information concerning the ideological dispute between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Recent correspondence supplied you with information in this matter. This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source which has furnished reliable information in the past, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

On September 28, 1960, representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCPSU) held a secret meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, at which they briefed selected delegates of communist and workers' parties who had assembled to prepare a document for the November Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which also met in Moscow.

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium, outlined at this meeting the dispute between the CPSU and the CPC. He related that the situation between the two parties was quite aggravated and growing worse. He charged that the delegation of the CPC had circulated a 165-page document dated September 10, 1960, which was full of slanderous charges against the CPSU. He noted the Chinese had also created some border incidents. Pospelov did not go into detail about the border incidents although he placed the blame on the Chinese.

100-428091

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100-428091-1092

JAN 13 1961

Delivered to Kennedy by C.A. Evans,  
DATE 1-12-61  
to White,  
DATE 1-12-61

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

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63 JAN 17 1961

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Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Honorable Robert F. Kennedy

It was later determined through representatives of the CCCPSU that one border incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It could not be determined whether there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which was said to have occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Byron R. White and the Honorable Dean Rusk.

Sincerely,

1 - Honorable Byron R. White

NOTE ON YELLOW: (Unclassified)

~~Classified "Top Secret"~~ because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

Information contained in enclosure to Chicago airtel dated 1-3-61 captioned "Solo, IS-C" and was supplied by CG 5824-S\*. Most of the information contained in the enclosure to this airtel concerning the issues of dispute between the CPSU and the CPC was previously disseminated on 12-23-60 as contained in a CPSU letter of 11-5-60. Information in instant letter is only information not previously disseminated.

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 1-11-61 captioned "Solo, IS-C." JWL:bgc

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~



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- 1 - sons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

100-428091

BY LIAISON

*ST*  
*C*  
Date: January 12, 1961  
To: Office of Security  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*2*  
*Solo*

*1-13-61*  
*Delivered*  
*off to*

Reference is made to my letter of January 10, 1961, furnishing you with information concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Enclosed for your additional information are two memoranda which set out details of occurrences at meetings of the Editorial Commission which met in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, on October 7, 1960, and October 8, 1960.

This information, supplied by an extremely sensitive source, was obtained as a result of our over-all coverage of the Communist Party, USA.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, it is requested that the contents of this communication and the enclosures be afforded careful security and their use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

Enclosures (2)

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency (Enclosures 2) BY LIAISON  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosures 2) BY LIAISON

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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JAN 17 1961

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Office of Security  
Department of State

TO OSI 1/13/61  
Jae

1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosures 2) BY LIAISON  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosures 2)  
Department of the Army BY LIAISON

Attention: Chief, Security Division

T.A.C.Z., 1-13-61

NOTE ON YELLOW:

(Unclassified)

This letter and enclosures are ~~classified "Top Secret"~~ as information was furnished by CG 5824-S\* and disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information contained in the enclosures was received in the form of letterhead memoranda enclosures to Chicago airtels dated 1-5-61 and 1-6-61, both captioned "Solo, IS-C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/3/61

REC 91

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
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(U)

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 4 copies, and to the New York Division, one copy, of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia, on 10/4/60. (U)

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/28/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "Secret"~~ (Unclassified). The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet. (U)

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Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 3, 1961

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 4, 1960

(U)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information. (U)

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, met for the third day of sessions in Saint George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, on October 4, 1960. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates of the 26 Communist and Workers' Parties present, an initial draft of a declaration. (U)

Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU), was the Chairman. (U)

Remarks of Enrico Berlinguer (U)

The first speaker was Enrico Berlinguer, member of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Italy. The following is the essence of his remarks. (U)

"A study of the draft proves it to be a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis. This draft reaffirms the principles of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and develops the objectives for the Communist movement. This document makes a contribution to Marxism-Leninism. I reserve the right to make any new proposals or suggestions as the discussion develops. I agree with the analysis of the present epoch in the document. It is a Marxist-Leninist analysis. The section dealing with war and peace is a creative analysis. I want to say this document is spearheaded against dogmatism and revisionism. (U)

To us who are Communists in Italy, Lenin's analysis of imperialism remains in force and this includes Lenin's theory about the redistribution of the world. Imperialism remains a robber, but this robber is now hand-cuffed so that he cannot commit murder. (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 4, 1960 ~~(S)~~ (U)

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Imperialism has been placed in the position where it can no longer do as it pleases. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"We now have more than one socialist nation. We have a system of socialist states made up of one-third of the world population. We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism and colonialism while the national liberation movement is growing. Even if the imperialists want to unleash a war, they would find it very difficult although the essence of imperialism is the same. A nuclear war would lead to the destruction of the centers of world civilization. Even if the workers will rule the world on the morrow of a nuclear war, what would we inherit? We can not tell the Italians that another war, an atomic war, would open the road to socialism. War would not shorten the road to socialism nor would it assure the collapse of capitalism sooner. A nuclear war would mean a great loss of life and destruction. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"We Communists want to save the treasures of civilization accumulated over the centuries. We cannot demoralize the masses if we show the destructiveness of atomic war. On the contrary, we mobilize the masses in struggle to avert war. By pointing to the destructiveness, we create an impetus and militancy among the workers that would help to isolate leading sections of imperialism. The policy of the Soviet Union in defense of peace and the relaxation of tensions achieves positive results. The imperialists are responsible for the wrecking of the Summit. They were intent on throwing us back to the days of the cold war. It is no easy matter to fight the imperialists. All of these are hard-fought struggles with their ups and downs. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"In the last few months, the situation has been aggravated by the United States. But this situation requires more vigorous efforts on our part in the fight for peace. The Soviet Union is setting an example at the United Nations in the fight for peace and disarmament. This helps to expose the slander that the Soviet Union is aggressive. There are contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie and as blows are inflicted on the imperialists, this shows the workers that changes are taking place in the structure of world relations. This whole fight helps the struggle for ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 4, 1960

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liberation since this struggle isolates the most aggressive sections of the imperialist governments from the masses. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"There is a concrete example in Italy where there is a split among the bourgeoisie - a split even within their parties. Some are demanding increased trade and exchange with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"These small gains can be reduced to nothing unless there is a continuous struggle for peace. A relaxation of tensions helps the fight for peace. The draft document shows that the socialist countries continue to strengthen themselves while capitalism is becoming weaker. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The Italian delegation will put forth suggestions for the draft document about the struggle in the capitalist countries. We want to emphasize the struggle for democracy. We also want to underline the achievement of socialism without civil war. As socialism develops, the possibilities in the capitalist countries are greater. It is necessary to take into consideration the traditions and conditions in each country. We should also study the role of the monopolies and their relation to the people. The efforts of the monopolies to destroy democracy affects other strata of the population such as the small business man, middle classes, intellectuals, etc. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"In this struggle the working class should lead the others as the vanguard for the development of democracy. The common ground is the struggle against monopoly. The working class does not limit itself to immediate demands and the extension of democracy. The working class must concentrate and direct its blow against monopoly capital and then fight for its liquidation and the establishment of a new social order. No democracy by itself will bring socialism, but taken together with other struggles, the struggle for socialism will advance. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"In the draft document before us we must show the connection between the struggle for democracy and socialism. We must clearly show how the struggle against monopoly leads to alliances and makes more possible success in the fight for socialism. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
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(U)

"There are specific circumstances in many countries. We must take into account the possibility of violence by the reactionaries who may try to prevent a peaceful way to socialism. In some countries, there are new conditions that may make it difficult for the bourgeoisie to use violence. The more alliances we create the greater the possibilities for the peaceful way. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The peaceful march to socialism is conditioned by objective circumstances. We should take into account the use of all institutions. At the same time the working people should be mobilized to fight for new forms of democracy in factories, city councils, etc. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"Parliament can be used but we should take into consideration the correlation of forces. In parliament the Communists can not be a mere opposition. They must introduce all sorts of new measures and demands. As Comrade Suslov said, a pre-condition for the victory of socialism is the unity of the working class and their fight to uphold democracy. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"In some countries, the working class is under the influence of the capitalist and social democratic parties. But the policies pursued by the Soviet Union and our policies and tactics bring us closer to the socialist workers. The Communist Party can not limit itself to mere criticism of social democrats but must meet with them. There must be contact between the Communist Party and the socialist democratic parties. It does not matter whether the leaders are sincere or not. In Europe some social democratic parties have positions very close to our position on the dangers of atomic war and on such questions as foreign bases, military blocs, etc. Some social democratic parties favor a struggle against monopoly and for democracy. The Communists must coordinate the fight against the monopolies. We of the Italian delegation will propose an appeal to social democratic workers and other working people. This corresponds to the thesis in the draft document. We are now developing a memorandum on this which we will turn over to the Secretariat. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"Our Party believes that we have to fight on two fronts and that there are mutual ties between revisionism and dogmatism. In each country the Parties have to solve the problems as they confront them and we have to fight in such a way so as not to give comfort to the revisionists. We in Italy have compiled a lot ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
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of material on this struggle, but most important of all is the unity of the Communist Parties in order to fight the common enemy, imperialism, especially in this epoch. (U)

Remarks of Dezhe Nemesh (U)

The next speaker was Dezhe Nemesh, member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The following is the essence of his remarks. (U)

"We will do all we can to achieve a stable unity amongst our Parties. No Party should doubt any other Party's faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism. I do not think the problem is whether we fight imperialism or not. The problem is how to conquer imperialism. The Soviet Union, we know, is achieving success in its acute struggle against imperialism. Comrade Khrushchev, now, as we are meeting here, is leading the fight in the United Nations against militarism and colonialism. In his fight we see a flexible struggle that rallies all people. (U)

"The Communist Parties are conducting an anti-imperialist line and even in the capitalist countries some Parties are successful. We of the Hungarian Party hope that we can do away with our differences. We hope there is agreement in matters of principle. In this new document, we are deepening and developing the Moscow Declaration. There can be no different interpretation. The first draft, which we have before us, corresponds to this demand and is a good basis for a document although some additions may be necessary. We see a growth of the socialist system, a disintegration of the colonialist system, a decay of the capitalist system and a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. (U)

"Now for a few remarks regarding the slogan - a struggle for a world without armies and wars. This means we struggle for disarmament even though it may not be achievable until the collapse of imperialism although this is not the way we would place the question. We do not believe in the opinion that peace is impossible until imperialism is completely conquered. Can we postpone the fight for a world without armies and wars and counterpose to that a fight with two world systems? (U)

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(U)

"We must put forth a slogan - world without armies, without wars - in order to strengthen the moral influence of the forces of socialism. We believe in this. A Europe that has suffered two world wars will listen to such a slogan and the people will respond in other countries and continents. To place such a slogan - a world without armies or wars - and the elimination of colonialism will not create illusions. On the contrary such slogans will weaken those who want armies and armaments. In behalf of the Central Committee I give you the attitude of our Party on these questions. (U)

"In regard to the theory that socialism will come sooner as a result of nuclear war, and later will flourish quickly, we say that this is a dangerous theory to say the least. What we Communists must emphasize is the peaceful competition of the two systems. Some people have the viewpoint that perhaps a nuclear war is avoidable but local wars will always be. We say that this thesis needs spelling out. If there are forces to solve the main problem of preventing world war, then we say that there are forces to solve and prevent local wars or local imperialist aggression. (U)

"If such aggressive local wars are unleashed we must put an end to them. There is no third way. The cold war is a period of transition. How will this period end? Will it be peaceful co-existence or a hot nuclear war? We Communists must aim for the militant objective to end the cold war. (U)

"On the question of the peaceful transition to socialism, we have some lessons in Hungary regarding this. Yes, we can start in parliament but the struggle does not end there. In regard to the development of the socialist system, we would like to see the unity of the world movement, yet we seem to be afraid to raise some questions on the building of socialism. Perhaps if we obtained unity on principled matters confronting us today, we can later take up some of these other problems. (U)

"Concerning the victory of socialism in China, and here I am referring to this question as it is placed in the draft, this paragraph points out that this victory was based on the supreme principle of the unity of the working class and the peasantry. However, I think we should also emphasize that this was voluntary cooperation and I would underline, voluntary cooperation. (U)

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MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 4, 1960

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"I think we should add something to the section in the draft which deals with the utilization of collective experience on the building of socialism. We should also say that one should be on guard against mechanical experience. (U)

"Regarding the question of material incentives, this is very well placed in the draft but we need also to develop ideological clarity. That is, we need to fight two dangers, the underestimation of material incentives and the underestimation of the ideological and moral when we overemphasize incentives. (U)

"I would also, speaking for the Hungarian Party, clarify the section in Chapter one on the appraisal of monopoly capital. There is a point in the section showing that the struggle against monopoly capitalism will help overcome the resistance of capitalism. (U)

Remarks of Ville Pessi (U)

*Finland  
Russia*

The next speaker was Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland. The following is the essence of his remarks. (U)

"In behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, I want to greet the fraternal parties present here and to extend thanks to the CCCPSU for its first draft. I am glad to hear this note of unanimity and desire that has been expressed and which should lead to the cementing of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. The CCCPSU draft is a good basis for the drawing up of the document. This draft opens up by showing the crisis in capitalism and the growth of the socialist system. This crisis and this growth took place not during war but in the period of peaceful co-existence. (U)

"Comrade Khrushchev's example, as a defender of peace and socialism, is having a big influence in Finland. In this document that we are to draw up I would expose the slanders that are aimed at the Soviet Union. I would also emphasize that the peasantry joins the collectives and cooperatives on a voluntary basis. (U)

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"Finland and the USSR are a good example to use in regard to peaceful co-existence. No political party in Finland now dares to speak against this policy. Many right wingers among the bourgeoisie and even among the social democrats support the policy of peaceful co-existence conditionally. They would like to narrow the cooperation between Finland and the USSR. But there are many struggles and they are continuing to keep this policy and to prevent the rightists from undermining this policy of cooperation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The workers parties in Finland increased their vote in the last election by 50,000. This will give them an increase in seats in the local bodies. The Agrarian Union, which is President Kekkonen's Party, has undergone terrific changes as the result of the peaceful relations between the USSR and our country. Because of this policy of peaceful co-existence the people have been rallied but we must constantly continue to work amongst the masses. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The Finnish Party would join with the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist Party of the United States to issue a declaration for peace. I conclude by again emphasizing that war and peace is the central problem. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The Communist Party, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Remarks of Wilhelm Mon ~~(S)~~ (U)

GERMANY  
RUSSIA

The next speaker was Wilhelm Mon, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Germany. The following is the essence of his remarks. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"This epoch is characterized by the struggle between the different social systems. The boundary between socialism and capitalism is in Germany. But in Germany, too, many people understand that the only way to avoid war is by peaceful co-existence. The fight for peace and disarmament is mobilizing millions of people against Konrad Adenauer and his policies of militarism. Adenauer says that peaceful co-existence is a Communist invention and an illusion. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
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(S) (U)

"It is wrong to counterpose peaceful co-existence to the class struggle. Peaceful co-existence is a form of the class struggle but without warfare. If we accept the thesis that war cannot be averted we really admit that nothing can be done. This is fatalism. The Bonn militarists are the collaborators of the United States imperialists. They are feverishly preparing for war. West Germany has become a dangerous hotbed of aggression and war. Our delegation would like some amendments to contain more on West Germany and also some amendments to spell out parts of the draft under the economic section."

Remarks of L. Tsend (S) (U)

RUS (U) A  
China

The last speaker was L. Tsend, member of the Politburo of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The following is the essence of his remarks. (S) (U)

"I agree with the draft as a basis. The draft is creative Marxism-Leninism. This document is not abstract nor schematic. This document gives the main tendencies in the contemporary situation. It is spelled out in a spirit of militancy and revolutionary purpose. I would emphasize that next to the development of the world socialist system is the breakdown and disintegration of the world colonial system" (S) (U)

"The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party would offer some suggestions that we should talk about coordinating our activities around the most experienced Party, the CPSU, and would even call it the leading party. The Soviet Union is congratulated because Nikita Khrushchev is leading the fight in the United Nations and is making an effort to turn it into a different type of organization. The Mongolians are against the use of the words, West and East, especially in the light of the existence of a world system of socialist states." (S) (U)

The source advised that as this day of sessions came to a close, it was decided that Boris Ponomarev, member of the (S) (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
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CCCPSU, would be the Chairman of the Secretariat of the Editorial Commission and his assistant would be N. V. Andropov, head of a Department of the CCCPSU. Both would be the representatives of the CPSU on this Secretariat. (U)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FBI

Date: 1/3/61

REC-91

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Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
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Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
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Tele. Room	
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Miss Gandy	

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Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

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There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia, on 10/1/60. (U)

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/28/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA, participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "Secret"~~. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions contained in referenced Bureau letter. (U)

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Approved: J. H. R. Key  
51 JAN 24 1961 Special Agent in Charge

Sent 297,308 M Per 2-25-92



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 1, 1960

(U)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

The sessions of the second day of the meeting of the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, were held in Saint George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, on October 1, 1960. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates of the 26 Communist and Workers' Parties present, an initial draft of a declaration. (U)

Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCPSU) said, "we have to organize this commission now. Who should we have as the chairman of this drafting committee or commission?" (U)

The delegation of the Rumanian Workers' Party suggested that since the CPSU was the host for this meeting, it is proper that the CPSU should have the chairmanship and suggested Suslov as the chairman. (U)

After the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party seconded this motion, Raymond Guyot, member of the Politburo of the French Communist Party, said he endorsed the proposal of the Rumanian Workers' Party since the CPSU used initiative in calling this meeting. (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL  
COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
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(S) (U)

TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC), said that he would second the proposal that the CPSU have the chairmanship since it is the host for this meeting. "There were a number of additional endorsements of the proposal as each delegation wanted to illustrate that it was actively participating in the meeting." (S) (U)

The discussion began with remarks by Guyot. The source offered the opinion that the CPSU probably arranged for this to demonstrate initiative on the part of the Communist Party from a Western country. (S) (U)

Guyot said, "the CPSU has given us a draft. We ought to thank the members of the CPSU for their great contribution. This document of the CPSU is a good starting point. I hope that since this document has been given to this committee, it will result in the drawing up of a document which will be accepted unanimously." (S) (U)

Vladimir Koitski, head of the delegation from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said he endorsed the ideas expressed by Guyot. "The draft resolution presented by the CPSU should be used as the basis of our work. On behalf of the CP of Czechoslovakia, I want to stress one point of outstanding importance and that is the character of the epoch. It must be described correctly." Koitski then proposed the establishing of a working secretariat of this commission. (S) (U)

Hermann Matern, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, said that the draft presented by the CPSU, should be the basis of whatever document is drawn up. In behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "I want to thank the CPSU for using its initiative in presenting us with a draft." (S) (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE  
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~~(S)~~ (U)

The delegation from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party went on record as agreeing with the draft of the CPSU as a basis and joined with the other delegations in praise of the draft and in thanking the CPSU for it. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The afternoon session began with Suslov as the permanent chairman. ~~(S)~~ (U)

TENG Hsiao-ping said, "our delegation from the CPC came here to this meeting with a sincere desire to participate in the drafting committee's work. We have serious responsibilities. We need a common front against the enemy. The Soviet comrades promised to work out a manifesto (declaration) like the Moscow Declaration of 1957. We agree that the success of the new document will depend on what extent we follow the Moscow Declaration of 1957." ~~(S)~~ (U)

"We need to base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism and to elucidate some problems. We have some differences but since we are Marxist-Leninist parties, we should rally our ranks and unite. The CPC expresses a desire for a common effort to work out a Marxist-Leninist document in the interest of all Communist Parties of all countries and the world; a document that will show that we are fighting for peace, socialism, democracy, and freedom. We will accept the CPSU document as a basis for discussion and we are ready to consider it and to engage in an exchange of views." ~~(S)~~ (U)

Hermann Matern spoke again and said, "we need a secretariat for this conference so it can be a working body. We need to analyze the international situation thoroughly. The 1957 Moscow Declaration has been verified, proved by life." ~~(S)~~ (U)

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~~(S)~~ (U)

There are, however, new perspectives opening up in the world. We need to consider these. We also need to take into consideration the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU. Then we will understand how Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU, is leading the fight for peace. In behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, I want to once again suggest that we accept the document introduced by the CPSU as a basis for our discussion. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Joseph Adjiotrop, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, said that he agreed that the CPSU draft given to the delegations can serve as a basis for the discussion. ~~(S)~~ (U) *INDONESIA* *ADJOTROP*

*Albania*  
Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo of the Albanian Party of Labor, said that the draft of the CPSU can serve as a basis for discussion and suggested that it be so used. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Zenon Kliszko, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party, seconded the proposal of the French Communist Party delegation and the proposals of the other delegations that the draft CPSU document can serve as a basis for discussion. He also agreed that it was necessary to set up a secretariat if the delegates were to move forward. ~~(S)~~ (U) *Poland*

Enrico Berlinguer, member of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, seconded the proposal of the French Communist Party delegation that the CPSU document serve as a basis for discussion. He proposed that if a secretariat were established, that two days be allowed to elapse before it would meet. He also proposed that the next plenary session be postponed until Tuesday, October 4, 1960, to allow everyone to read the documents and prepare suggestions. ~~(S)~~ (U) *Italy* *Berlinguer*

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RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 1, 1960

(U)

*JAPAN RUSSIA*

*Kenji Miyamoto*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, said, in the past, a draft document was as a rule, like at the conference which issued the Moscow Declaration of 1957, drawn up by Parties from the socialist countries and then presented for endorsement. This conference is different than the Moscow Conference of 1957. We have representatives from Communist Parties in the capitalist countries participating in the drawing up of the draft. We have accumulated experiences since the Moscow Declaration of 1957. Undoubtedly these will be considered and will find their way into the draft document. ~~(S)~~ (U)

*Syria RUSSIA*  
*Khaled Bakdash*, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria, said that he agrees that the draft given by the CPSU can serve as a basis for discussion. ~~(S)~~ (U)

*India RUSSIA*  
*Ajoy Kumar Ghosh*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, said he agreed with the proposal that the draft of the CPSU serve as a basis but also agreed with the idea of a secretariat which would be made up of one or two representatives from each delegation and would meet everyday in order to expedite the work. ~~(S)~~ (U)

*Viet Nam RUSSIA*  
*Le Zyan*, member of the Politburo of the Working People's Party of Viet Nam; *Alberti Gonzales Paulino*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina; *George Matthews*, *Great Britain* member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Great Britain; *Russia* and *Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States (CP, USA) spoke and agreed that the draft of the CPSU would serve as a basis for discussion. ~~(S)~~ (U)

*U.S.A RUSSIA*  
The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL  
COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 1, 1960.

~~(S)~~ (U)

Suslov was the next speaker and the essence of his remarks follows ~~(S)~~ (U)

"We are grateful to you for your confidence and the unity shown in greeting the material of the CPSU presented to you. I want to characterize the draft document of the CPSU which you have before you. When working out this document, we want to provide an analysis of international developments. We want to analyze the state of our movement and to draw some conclusions for the entire movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This coming meeting (in November) has for its object to rally the socialist camp and the entire socialist movement. Our draft is based upon the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow meeting of 1957 ~~(S)~~ (U)

"In reality, time has worn out this analysis to some extent. There has been a shift in the relation of forces in this world. We are a witness to the growth of the world socialist system and the disintegration of the capitalist system. The colonial system is decaying, falling apart. We must give an analysis of this epoch and show that socialism, not capitalism, determines the main peculiarities of the present epoch. The working class is the main force in society and is expressing itself through the world socialist system. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"Our document must give prominence to the development of the world socialist system. Our prime task is to strengthen the world socialist system. The vital problems of our time depend on the strengthening of the socialist system. The dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale is an expression of the world socialist system. In the draft, the section dealing with war and peace exposes imperialism, particularly United States imperialism. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL  
COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 1, 1960

~~(S)~~ (U)

"There are dangers of war but we show in the draft document that war can be prevented by the unity of the socialist camp with all who can be considered to be a part of the peace-loving camp. But we also emphasize the need for an active struggle against the aggressive schemes of imperialism. Vigilance is necessary. We also show that peaceful co-existence is possible. When we speak of the danger of war, we show that a struggle against it must be waged right now, not when the H-bombs start to fall. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The draft comes out for the abolition of all forms of colonialism and points to the need for the establishment of an anti-imperialist front. The draft also deals with the problems of the Communist movement in the capitalist countries. Here we also put particular emphasis on the forms of transition to socialism. We tell the world that Communists do not export revolution but we also serve notice that we will fight the export of counter-revolution. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The document devotes a lot of space to the question of the growing importance of ideological work. We deal with the fight against all kinds of opportunism. While we consider revisionism as the main danger, we point to the need of struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism. Our document also deals with the importance of the unity of our movement. The draft which you have before you is constructive in character. It should help to consolidate all the Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The draft can be considered preliminary but we hope that with the help of all the other Parties, we will produce and bring out a good draft. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SESSIONS OF THE  
MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL  
COMMISSION HELD IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 1, 1960

~~(S)~~ (U)

"The CPSU is confident that this committee will work and will solve the tasks placed before it." ~~(S)~~ (U)

"There is a question of how to proceed. There is one proposal that we hold another plenary session on Tuesday. There was another proposal that we get together on Monday. We believe that it would be better to get together on Tuesday so let us then gather on Tuesday." ~~(S)~~ (U)

After a brief recess, it was agreed that a secretariat would be established with every Party present represented. A proposal was also adopted to establish sub-committees to meet in between plenary sessions. ~~(S)~~ (U)

A proposal was made by [redacted] that this Editorial Commission also prepare a second document to be called a peace manifesto. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn stated that the CP, USA delegation had a proposal from its leadership to prepare a peace appeal to be considered by the November meeting. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b6  
b7c

This ended the sessions of October 1, 1960. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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FBI

REC-35

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Date: 1/3/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the opening session of the meeting of the Editorial Commission in Moscow, Russia on 9/30/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/28/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA, participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~class~~ (Unclassified) ~~"Secret"~~. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

REC-35

EX-113

LCC • Wick

9 JAN 16 1961

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

62 JAN 19 1961



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING SESSION OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA, SEPTEMBER 30, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, met in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The opening session was held on Friday, September 30, 1960. Representatives from twenty six Communist and Workers' Parties were present. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to all the delegates an initial draft of a declaration.

Mikhail ~~Suslov~~, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU), opened the meeting with the following words of greeting to the delegates.

"The CCCPSU, true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, will do all that is necessary for the triumph of the cause of international socialism. The Bucharest Conference instructed us to draft some document which, if possible, would express a common opinion and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, all the fraternal parties would take a common stand on all the issues before us in this contemporary situation.

"We do have some such documents now. These are the Moscow Declaration of 1957, the Peace Manifesto of 1957, and the Bucharest Communique. The Bucharest Communique said that the Moscow Declaration is a charter for all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle for peace and socialism. The content of these documents has been borne out by events. These documents prove to be a creative force of Marxism-Leninism.

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ENCLOSURE



~~TOP SECRET~~

OPENING SESSION OF  
THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
SEPTEMBER 30, 1960

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"We can also record major successes in the struggle of people and their vanguard, the Communist Parties, during this period. In the November meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties, we are going to deal with some very pressing questions before the world working class. Above all, we will deal with the questions of peace and socialism.

"We are a committee to draw up a document based on the collective experience of all the Parties gathered here and the happenings since the Moscow Declaration was published.

"We will try to live up to the trust placed in us by our Parties and we will be successful because all documents will be based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

The source advised that the remaining time during the opening session was consumed in the seating of the delegations, the testing of technical equipment, such as microphones and translating equipment, and the exchange of personal greetings between delegates.

Mineral water and Russian brands of cigarettes were made available to the delegates, despite a previous CPSU ruling against smoking while meetings were in progress.

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FBI

Date: 1/3/61

REC-44

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGowan	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division, one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning a speech by AJOY KUMAR GHOSH at the session of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia, on 10/10/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA, participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "Secret"~~. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions in referenced Bureau letter.

(Unclassified)

GALE

REC-44

EX-105

9 JAN 5 1961

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-484637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:Plb  
(5)

C. C. Wick

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

63 JAN 24 1961



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

100-428091

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SPEECH BY AJOY KUMAR GHOSH AT THE  
SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 10, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information. *indiv*

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, heard a speech by Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, on October 10, 1960, in Saint George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates of the 26 Communist and Workers' Parties present, an initial draft of a declaration.

There follows the essence of the remarks of Ajoy Kumar Ghosh.

"I agree with the CPSU draft but I want to give a few observations of the changing world in the last 15 years. These changes are due to the influence exercised by the U.S.S.R. and the socialist system. Suppose we compare this present period with 1931, let us say. At that time Japan seized Manchuria. Italy took Abyssinia. Czechoslovakia was occupied by Hitler, etc. By force and by threat of force, the fascists seized territories. In recent years, things are different. United States imperialism failed to conquer Korea. France has been defeated in Indo-China.

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ENCLOSURE

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SPEECH BY AJOY KUMAR  
GHOSH AT THE SESSION OF  
THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1960

"Imperialists have been defeated in Egypt and Iraq. There were successes in Guatemala and although the battle there has been temporarily lost, Cuba has now won. The difference is due to the strength of socialism the world over.

"The Communist Parties must do everything to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp. We must not allow for this camp to weaken. Even if there are ideological weaknesses, we must not allow these to enter into state differences.

"Who could have imagined that the colonial system would disintegrate so fast. In 1950, there were 15 Asian and African states in the United Nations. Today, 50 are represented in that body. These are not socialist states, but many of them sympathize with the U. S. S. R. and other socialist states. Economic aid from the U. S. S. R. helps to strengthen India's independence.

"It is most important for the socialist countries to establish ties with the newly created independent states. Even if some of these governments are anti-communist, there is need to preserve friendship with them as long as they are for peace and are anti-imperialist. The internal forces in these countries will do battle for democracy. The U.S.S.R. gave such help to India.

"The Indian people, until recently, had a great love for China but the worsening of relations between these two countries was a set-back for the democratic movement. No single event has dealt such a heavy blow to our movement and the Communist Party as this dispute. Our Party was not consulted by

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SPEECH BY AJOY KUMAR  
GHOSH AT THE SESSION OF  
THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1960

the Chinese comrades. We tried to help solve this dispute between India and China. We offered advice to the Chinese comrades. We appealed to the Communist Party of China, in behalf of the Communist Party of India, that the friendship of hundreds of millions of Indians was more important than a few miles of territory sparsely inhabited.

"If comrade Khrushchev would not have intervened, the situation would now be worse. United States imperialism took advantage of this dispute. The Chinese argument that this dispute is between a socialist country and a capitalist country is incorrect. The U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party of India thought that the zone of peace, which is India, was more important than its state form being capitalist.

"If India would have been dragged into the United States camp, it would have been disastrous for the world. The U.S.S.R., therefore, deserves our thanks.

"It is our task to aid the colonial peoples, for example, Algerians. We must give more support to the national independence struggles. But this in no sense underestimates the support the U.S.S.R. has given to such struggles.

"On the question of war and peace, we should not retreat from the Moscow Peace Manifesto. We are against world war. We said so. We also said we are against local wars although we favor and will support wars for independence. Why was there no imperialist intervention in Iraq? Because of the unity of the U.S.S.R. and other states who believe in peace. But the dangers of war do exist as long as imperialism exists. We should keep in mind that local wars can lead to bigger wars.

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SPEECH BY AJOY KUMAR  
GHOSH AT THE SESSION OF  
THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1960

"Fighting the horrors of a nuclear war will not demoralize the masses. On the contrary, the U.S.S.R. has won moral leadership in the world because it fights for peace and disarmament. Under the leadership of comrade Khrushchev, with the concrete measures and proposals of the U.S.S.R., United States imperialism has been discredited. As Marxists-Leninists, we must judge policies by whom these policies help. The fight for the abolition of bases and disarmament does not embellish imperialism. The Soviet Union's disarmament plan is concrete and weakens imperialism. Comrade Khrushchev's proposals, made at the United Nations, are entirely practical and will mobilize the people for action.

"We oppose the propaganda of imperialism that China wants war. We fight this lie. We believe China stands for peace but we do believe our Chinese comrades do underestimate the possibility of averting war.

"The charge that the CPSU is imposing on other Parties an unequal relationship is not true.

"Right here I would like to make a proposal for Section 2 of the draft in which we deal with the world socialist system. We need a paragraph on the Chinese revolution showing how this revolution delivered a shattering blow to imperialism and gave impetus to the colonial revolutions. China has made big advances in the building of socialism. If they have made mistakes, let the Communist Party of China decide as well as experience.

"Now a word on the question of peaceful transition.

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SPEECH BY AJOY KUMAR  
GHOSH AT THE SESSION OF  
THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1960

This present formula in the document, that is when we speak of two ways, peaceful and non-peaceful, would cause confusion. We should say that we, the Communists, strive for peaceful transition. The bourgeoisie might force violence on the working class, therefore, the working class should be prepared to resist.

"Unity is most important. If the rift between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China continues, it will have the most disastrous consequences for the world movement. Therefore, we should do everything possible to achieve unity."

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Date: 1/3/61

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Mr. Parsons	_____
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Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGhee	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning a speech by TENG Hsiao-ping at the session of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia, on 10/5/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on December 28, 1960. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the Communist Party, USA (CP) participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "secret"~~. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C. in accordance with instructions in referenced Bureau letter.

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3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (100-44637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK/djs  
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ENCLOSURE  
REC-98

JAN 5 1961

C. C. Wick

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

63 JAN 18 1961





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DATE 07-19-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH BY TENG HSIAO-PING  
AT THE SESSION OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 5, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information,

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, heard a speech by TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC), on October 5, 1960, in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates from the twenty-six Communist and Workers' Parties present an initial draft of a declaration.

*Chinese Russia*

There follows the essence of the remarks of  
TENG Hsiao-ping.

"Our delegation has made a preliminary study of the draft document of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU). It is a long document. It touches on many problems. We cannot touch on all the problems. We will touch on and deal with a couple of principled questions. I want to deal with the question of allegiance to the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the need to reaffirm this Declaration and also the Peace Manifesto of 1957. These documents, I refer to, conform to the interests of all Parties. We join to uphold this fighting banner as a guide to action. The CPSU, in its present draft, put forth a few good theses on the epoch, on imperialism and on the anti-imperialist movement.

"On the epoch, we would say that it began in October, 1917, and that it opened up as a struggle of two social systems. This thesis, which is before us, is basically the same as our three articles, which we published on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. This thesis shows that

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SPEECH BY TENG HSIAO-PING  
AT THE SESSION OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 5, 1960

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Marxism-Leninism will not and has not become out-moded. The revisionists say that it is out-moded. We believe that this thesis should run throughout the document in order to mobilize against imperialism.

Imperialism is still strong. It will not break down automatically and neither will colonialism. This depends on the relation of forces. Some sections in the draft document, which deal with the new epoch, need to be discussed more thoroughly. The CPSU shows the decline of imperialism and the United States as the main enemy, the main stay of colonialism, the bulwark of reaction, the world gendarmery. This expose of imperialism is an important question for the entire world in the struggle for peace and socialism.

"When the main enemy is clearly identified we can then mobilize for struggle. The Declaration (Moscow Declaration of 1957) helped to expose United States imperialism and to strengthen the world Communist movement.

"On the national liberation movement, the analysis in the draft shows the dangers. It also exposes the new methods used by imperialism against the independence movement.

"The draft also shows the development of national wars of liberation. The draft analyses the two sided nature of the national bourgeoisie. It is the duty of all socialist countries and all Parties to give aid to the peoples in their struggle for national independence.

"The CPC also holds in high regard the anti-colonial movements in Africa, Asia and in Latin America. These movements do not hamper the struggle for peace. The more such struggles the more peace will be aided. Fundamentally, the victories of the colonial people depend on their own struggles. Since the policies of the national bourgeoisie in these countries are of a two sided nature, there must be

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SPEECH BY TENG HSIAO-PING  
AT THE SESSION OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 5, 1960

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more reliance on the workers and peasants. There should be no illusions about the national bourgeoisie. It is necessary to criticize the national bourgeoisie. The various Parties should not confuse the struggle by their failure to understand the role of the national bourgeoisie.

"The source commented that Marxism-Leninism recognizes the two sided nature of the national bourgeoisie. However, in the present world struggle, Communists in the Soviet Union and other countries feel that they must make alliances with the national bourgeoisie as represented by Gamal Nasser of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia, and Jawaharlal Nehru of India. On the other hand, the CPC wants to de-emphasize the role of the national bourgeoisie because it wants to minimize the importance of neutrality and peace. The remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping continue.

"In any united front, criticism is necessary and not too many concessions should be made to the allies. Any other approach would lead to capitulation. The last fifteen years are rich in the lessons from experience in the colonial struggle and the relations with the national bourgeoisie. However, this problem is not always presented clearly.

"The draft document does have correct views now on the rising liberation movement. This question, we hope, will be further developed in the document.

"On the question of peaceful co-existence, the draft shows the dangers of war and points to the need for vigilance and the need to be on guard. It also shows that war can be prevented. Further that should the imperialists start a war, the people will sweep them out and bury capitalism.

"In regard to the question of peaceful co-existence, the document shows that the fight for peace is not in contradiction to the class struggle. The CPC, however, has some amendments on these questions.

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SPEECH BY TENG HSIAO-PING  
AT THE SESSION OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 5, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

On the use of nuclear weapons, we must fight to prevent their use. It is too bad that we are accused of being against peaceful co-existence, and for the use of nuclear weapons. There are no real grounds for such charges. We want to thank Comrade Khrushchev for exposing this at the United Nations meeting on October 1, 1960. We also want to thank the Albanian representative to the United Nations for doing the same thing. At first we did not raise this question. Why now? Because the draft document presented to us says that the denial of peaceful co-existence or the denial of the possibility to prevent war under-estimates imperialism.

Why is there no criticism of another tendency, the under-estimation of the war danger? Or why do not the authors expose the idea that we have peaceful co-existence even as we have the cold war? Or why is there no expose of those who talk of a world without armies and without wars?

The draft declaration says that if we achieve disarmament, this would bring us to a world without armies or wars. We do not believe that this is possible under imperialism although we think that we can fight to prevent war. At present two possibilities exist. We should be prepared for two tactics. One is to prevent war and the other is to cope with the enemies that might launch war. Before imperialism actually disarms, we cannot take it for granted. We must be strong in defense since the people may not be mobilized in time.

Now on the question regarding the horrors of war, our experience is the other way around. We should rather propagate the fight for peace and defeating the enemy. This means we will be better prepared and mobilized. We are not looking for disputes but we of the CPC can not be negligent. War may suddenly break out.

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"The draft deals with the socialist revolution but says that while we are aiming for socialism do not wait for it but put forth immediate demands. We do not agree with this formulation.

"On the question of peaceful transition, we have reaffirmed the formulation of the Moscow Declaration (of 1957) although we believe that even this formulation is not altogether correct. We must be prepared for two possibilities. In the draft there is over-emphasis on peaceful transition. We will not fool the enemy that way but we may disarm the working class. The parliamentary way is impossible. We must smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie. Most capitalist countries even put obstacles in the way of the Communist Party even achieving office. Some countries are increasingly becoming fascist. Thousands of Communists are in prison. The working class must guard against counter-revolutionary surprise but the draft says the opportunities for peaceful transition are growing. We say this is incorrect.

"For the working class and its vanguard party, the Communist Party, to always be prepared, we cannot emphasize the possibility of peaceful transition. The draft document points out that revisionism is the main danger. It says further that revisionism has already been ideologically defeated. If this is so, then revisionism cannot be the main danger. Therefore, the way the question of dogmatism is placed is wrong.

"I want to quote from the Moscow Declaration (of 1957). Revisionism is emphasized as the main danger and is characterized as right wing opportunism. The Moscow Declaration further said that revisionism smears Marxism-Leninism.

"In the last three years all the Parties have fought the modern revisionism of Yugoslavia. This was so in the United States, Canada, Great Britain and other countries. The experience gained in this fight should be summed up. The draft

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only casually speaks of Yugoslavia and revisionism. We must emphasize that the revisionists are thoroughly opposed to Marxism-Leninism. The line of modern revisionism has degenerated Yugoslavia. It is now a lackey of imperialism.

"Imperialism will make more use of revisionism to split and demoralize the world movement. Of course in a certain country in a certain period, dogmatism may be the main danger, but for the international movement this is not so.

"We have to fight against revisionism. Kardelj's book (Edward Kardelj of Yugoslavia) tries to blame everything on dogmatism. The use of the phrase Marxism-Leninism creatively applied, is a disguise for imperialist ideology. It is prettifying imperialism. The Yugoslav revisionists have repudiated revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. If you will study Kardelj's book, you will see that this is so.

"We must oppose real dogmatism. The Communist Parties should use all forms of struggle. As long as principles are not compromised, we can even make some compromises and retain ties with the masses, but we know of another phenomenon. Under the pretext of keeping ties with the masses, the modern revisionist preaches the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism. In order to correctly sum up the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, we must say that all Parties have made contributions to their construction of socialism or the class struggle. Since conditions vary from country to country we must apply Marxism-Leninism creatively. The CPSU has applied Marxism-Leninism creatively. Korea, Viet Nam, Albania, all these Parties have applied Marxism-Leninism creatively. Cuba, small and so near the United States, has bravely struggled against imperialism and has valuable experience. The struggle of the Japanese people also sets an example in the struggle against imperialism and the application of Marxism-Leninism. The CP of Indonesia has correctly integrated patriotism with Marxism-Leninism and thereby it

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increased its strength. The people of France and Italy are waging serious struggles. The American people are waging struggles under particularly difficult conditions. If Parties in such countries do not apply Marxism-Leninism creatively, they cannot succeed.

"In the last three years more and more new forms of building socialism have been used. Creative application of Marxism-Leninism concretely applied leads to successes.

"Marxism-Leninism does not belong to one Party alone as if other Parties cannot contribute. The experience of the Chinese people, half of the population of the Socialist camp must therefore be considered. The Chinese people have created new experiences and practices that can be useful.

"In the course of building socialism we adhere to a line. We raise the slogans, aiming high or walking on two legs or leaps forward. On the basis of this line we have developed and consolidated the peoples' communes. In our society, the interest of the individual is subordinated to that of the collective. The short aim is subordinated to the long aim. This does not mean that we violated a rule -- from each according to his labor.

"We expected a welcome from the other fraternal Parties. Unfortunately these experiences of China are not considered a part of the experiences of building socialism. We are treated like the plague. Abnormal phenomenon has stopped the interflow of experience. We are being charged with imposing on others. We do not want to fight to include our experiences in this new draft. In the draft there is talk of the kind of experience that is tested by life but this section ignores our experience.

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"On the question of unity, we must smash the intrigues of the enemies and fight for solidarity. Our unity, however, must have a common ideological foundation.

"We must consistently strengthen our unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Moscow Declaration of 1957, into solidarity, equality, respect for each others territory and non-interference in each others affairs. To strengthen our unity we must abide by the above.

"Why did the draft go contrary to those principles? The draft charges that there has been a shift to international Communism. No one is being fooled by this. We know that you are trying to pin this label on us. The draft also charges factionalism. These are extremely serious questions. Is this the way to get unity? We say that the purpose for raising these questions is for the opposite purpose although no names of Parties have been mentioned in the draft.

"What is the purpose in presenting things in that way? People will ask, is there a split in the international Communist camp? Since the draft raises these questions we are compelled to take them up and to answer. The CPC always stood for proletarian internationalism. Big nation chauvinism and nationalism must be opposed but we want to point out that big nation chauvinism is the most dangerous. Correct us, if you please, if we make such mistakes. We asked the Soviet comrades when you recalled your experts and did us great damage, is this not big nation chauvinism?

"You imply in the draft that we want to become another Yugoslavia and accept hand outs from the United States. Are you serious, comrades of the Soviet Union? No country should rely on support of one country only. We will always be grateful to the Soviet Union for its aid. We still think that the CPSU must head the Socialist camp but we cannot be silent. Aid is not benevolence. It is big nation chauvinism,

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if given that way. It is international solidarity if given freely.

"There is big nation chauvinism in our ranks. If you want to impose your views there is no equality. Then you would have a father and son relationship. If the views of one or of several Parties are imposed on another Party then this is against the fraternal relations as in the Moscow Declaration of 1957.

"Overruling of a minority is dangerous. Trying to impose the views on the Chinese is dangerous. Comrades should give this serious attention. Ask the CPSU not to enlarge these dangers and differences. Let us find a method to solve these problems.

"The draft can be a basis for discussion but the weak points in that document, those not in keeping with Marxism-Leninism should be corrected. If we are sincere in wanting unity against the enemy, we will draft a good document beneficial to all and one that the enemy cannot use."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 6, 1961

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SESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON OCTOBER 8, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, met for the seventh day of sessions in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on October 8, 1960. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had made available to the delegates of the twenty six Communist and Workers' Parties present, an initial draft of a declaration.

Remarks of Richard Dixon

On October 8, 1960, Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU) was the chairman of the meeting.

The first speaker was Richard Dixon, President of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia. Dixon suffered a severe heart attack in Moscow, during the latter part of October, 1960. The following is the essence of his remarks.

*Russia*

"I agree that the U.S.S.R. is a good place to work and I accept the draft as a basis for discussion. The draft points out that while we have peaceful co-existence, the class struggle continues.

"The forces of peace can succeed and war is not inevitable, thanks to the policies of the CPSU and Khrushchev's trip to the United Nations. These were important factors in mobilizing the peoples in Australia for peace. It is necessary to combine the developing of a united front with ideological struggle. In Australia, most of the workers are reformists but when they are faced with the need for struggle, they turn to the Communist Party (CP). In this way, they compel the democratic socialist leaders to move toward unity.

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"The main and central task in Australia is the fight for peace. We have some successes to record in this field but much remains to be done. The demand of the U.S.S.R. for disarmament and China's request for an atom free zone in the Pacific were welcomed by the Australian people.

"We agree with the formulation in the draft on the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. We still have the problem of how to overcome Browderism. In the Moscow Declaration of 1957, the formulation in regard to peaceful transition to socialism was correct. I am glad that both ways, peaceful and non-peaceful, are contained in the draft. ?

"At the present time, the Australian government has introduced new legislation which is aimed at the Communists and is also aimed at the trade union movement. This legislation is now before the federal parliament. It even contains a clause which would allow for the death penalty. I am glad to report that there is a big movement on the part of labor and the people to defeat this horrible legislation. In Australia, the CP will stress the peaceful road to socialism. If we did anything else it would separate us from the people and would be inadvisable legally.

"The CP of Australia hopes that unity will be restored in our Parties. Any worsening of relations between the Parties would lead to catastrophe and would help the enemy. Let us concentrate on producing a document that will unite all of us."

Remarks of Delunde  
Anibal Escalante

The last speaker in the sessions of October 8, 1960, was Delunde Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba. The following is the essence of his remarks.

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"We were surprised to learn of the conflict between the CP of China (CPC) and the CPSU. We really learned about this through the press. Even after the Bucharest meeting, we were in the dark. We convened a plenum of our Party on the 23rd of September. At this plenum, we adopted a line and a position, although they may not be complete.

"Now a word or two concerning the differences between the CPC and the CPSU on the possibility of peaceful co-existence between Communism and imperialism as were brought out at the Bucharest meeting. We believe that a conference is necessary in the interests of peace and of mankind. The differences, which were revealed, between the CPC and the CPSU affect all CPs and touch all of us. Therefore, we should spare no effort to bring about unity. We proceed on the basis that it is necessary to consolidate all CPs but particularly to consolidate the unity between the CPSU and the CPC since they are the cornerstone of the world movement. These Parties are the prerequisite for the victory of the entire socialist camp and the liberation movements. A split would be a disaster and a gain for the enemies. The imperialists would then carry through their schemes.

"This new relation of forces now existing in the world restrains imperialism and assures victory for Marxism-Leninism. It also creates favorable conditions for the entire movement. A split would be a catastrophe. We must use all our energies to avoid this split. We must help to consolidate unity. The Cuban Party declares that a solution must be found for unity despite our differences. We must find a solution.

"Before I came here, I spoke to our leaders and Fidel said, you must prevent a split.

"The source advised that subsequently Escalante was questioned privately about this reference to Fidel Castro. Escalante said that the People's Socialist Party of Cuba is cooperating with Fidel Castro and considers him the leader of the revolution in Cuba, even if he is not a member of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba. Castro is

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depending upon the socialist camp, and the People's Socialist Party of Cuba consulted with him on developments in the international situation. Escalante said that he was speaking not only for the People's Socialist Party of Cuba but for the leadership of the revolution in Cuba.

"We believe that the CPSU can find a solution. We also believe that the CPC can find a solution. We are sure that we have one common principle to guide us.

"On the character of this present epoch as it appears in the draft, I agree with the draft and with the Moscow Declaration of 1957, but I believe the Chinese Comrades are lagging behind in analyzing this contemporary period. We live in a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but wars are still possible. These wars and revolutions are not excluded particularly in colonial and semi-colonial countries. We also agree with the resolution that it is possible to avert war because of the new relation of forces in the world. Of course, there is no guarantee that there will be no war but thanks to the Soviet rockets and the anti-imperialist front, we can mobilize masses to fight war. Imperialism remains imperialism and pushes toward war and aggression of all sorts. However, I want to emphasize again that it is possible for the people to restrain imperialism, especially because of the new relation of forces in the world. If war can be avoided, then peaceful co-existence is possible. One is related to the other. This does not exclude the aggressive tendencies of imperialism to violate peaceful co-existence.

"Peaceful co-existence does not exclude the colonial fight for independence. There is no peaceful co-existence between the oppressed, the colonies, and the oppressor, the imperialists. Disarmament is no easy task but it is not impossible. Nuclear weapons of mass destruction even affect some sections of the ruling circles who fear wide destruction and the after effects.

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"There is no third way in international relations. The so-called third way is wrong. The Cuban Party is against the cold war and against the hot war. The cold war could lead to actual war. We must therefore, wage a fight against local wars. They, too, threaten the peace of the world.

"On the breadth and depth of the peace movement there are two positions. Some want a broad movement and some want a limited movement. We of the Cuban Party say that the peace movement must include all who want to fight for peace, no matter how they want to fight, whether they are pacifists or people who believe in negotiations or just people who are for disarmament. No matter how limited the views of such people may be, they should be in the movement for peace. The more limited way would narrow the peace movement. This would be especially true if we followed the policies of the Chinese Comrades in the democratic peace organizations and insisted on everyone taking an anti-imperialist stand.

"Unless you want to exclude certain people, they do not have to say that they are against imperialism, if they believe in peace. In some concrete conditions, the peace movement should support peoples who are fighting for independence. In concrete situations such people may even support the fight for socialism.

"A united front should, in the main, be based on certain, limited, common aims. We must not exaggerate international meetings and their results. I am referring to the United Nations. Unless the people are mobilized, decisions such as those of the United Nations can remain on paper.

"We have no differences with the CPSU on the question of the transition to socialism. We agree with and support the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In Cuba, some difficulties arose when some comrades took a one sided position. In Cuba, we objected to the stress on peaceful transition. Our conditions caused us to prepare for armed struggle. We embarked on a correct analysis flowing from concrete conditions in our country. We combined guerrilla war with other forms of struggle

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in the cities. This helped to clarify some problems facing the Parties in Latin American countries.

"If there are Parties in Latin American countries that see possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism, they should not exclude such possibilities. Everybody wants a peaceful transition to socialism. However, we need to warn the people of the possibility of the oppressors abusing their power. Violence may have to be answered with violence. It depends on the conditions and where they exist. If the conditions exclude peaceful possibilities, we resort to arms.

"I want to deal with the question of the method of posing differences. Some mistakes have been committed, even here at this conference. We believe that the CPC and the CPSU should have first used every means to resolve their differences and to keep their quarrels out of the mass organizations.

"What I have said up to now is the position of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba. We even issued a statement summarizing these views but this statement was only for inner consumption. However, since I am present here, I must make some additions.

"We proclaim that the CPSU is the center of our movement. We add a few considerations on the character of the differences. There are two types of problems. Some concern only the CPSU and the CPC. There are, however, some ideological questions which touch all of us and these are matters of principle. This is not an argument between two individuals. It is not correct to refer to a majority and minority. We belong to no group. We belong to all. All Parties fight for the same cause although they may have differences in approach. I am glad that the differences have not yet been crystallized.

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"We are against labels and against language that puts the Chinese Comrades in the dock. We also reject language that the Chinese Comrades have used and the charge they made in which they accused the U.S.S.R. of great power chauvinism.

"As a Cuban, I know the meaning of chauvinism but I never ran into it in the U.S.S.R. For decades we Cubans have had a warm feeling toward the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. was our guiding star but it always earned and deserved this characterization. The Soviet Union gave us friendly, powerful and generous aid -- more than any of you know. The Russians gave us a special lift when Khrushchev said that if Cuba is invaded, the Soviet Union would use its rockets.

"Where could you find a better example or more noble gesture than Comrade Khrushchev's visit to Harlem to see Fidel Castro? This thrilled the entire Cuban people, including the Comrades in Cuba. This is certainly not a manifestation of great power chauvinism. I disagree with the Chinese in the use of this improper language. We Cubans are also thankful for the aid from other governments, such as China and Czechoslovakia, and Comrades MAO Tse-tung and Antonin Novotny. //

"The struggle for peace at the present is very important for Cuba. It protects us against invasion. Any conflict can serve as a pretext by the United States to invade us. The sharper the contradiction on a world scale, the greater the danger to Cuba. Peace supports our independence. The fight for disarmament is a contribution to our revolution.

"We opposed the Chilean initiative, which is a United States State Department move, for unilateral disarmament in Latin America. This would only help the United States. When the United States disarms, we will disarm too. Our training of militiamen and the building of our armaments does not endanger peace. The Cuban Government offers peaceful co-existence to the United States provided there is equality and mutual respect.

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"The United States has bases in many foreign countries. The United States has both air and naval bases in Cuba. This is a beachhead for imperialism. When Richard Nixon visited Latin America and there was hostility toward him, Guantanamo was preparing paratroopers to rush to the aid of Nixon.

"In the United Nations, Fidel Castro raised this question. We will not take Guantanamo but we will raise the issue; we will fight in the world to sway public opinion regarding Guantanamo. This method is part of the anti-imperialist struggle. ||

"I have reread the thesis of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in regard to peaceful transition to socialism. A re-reading shows that diverse forms are possible. This thesis did not stress only the peaceful way. There are too many generalizations on the armed way. Guerrilla war is not the only way. We combined all methods and then crystallized this into a single flow of struggle. Each Party should develop its own tactics and take into consideration the objective situation.

"It would be a good thing if other countries in Latin America made a study of our experience and the possibilities in their own countries. The peaceful possibilities in Latin America are becoming more and more limited.

"I believe that the term, national democracy, is an incorrect term. In Cuba, we have an alliance of the peasants and the workers. We call it a democracy of the people. We need to find a new definition. Just to use the phrase national democracy is wrong. We must also eliminate the use of the terms, East and West. These are imperialist terms. Capitalism, socialism, colonialism, etc., are better terms.

"In conclusion, we must unite around the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The unity of the Communists unites all

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others. The great Party of the Bolsheviks should spare no effort for unity."

With the conclusion of the remarks of Escalante, the sessions of October 8, 1960 ended.

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FBI

Date: 1/6/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100- 428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum concerning the sessions of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia on 10/8/60.

The information in the letterhead was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/30/60. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA, participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "secret"~~. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

(Unclassified)

GALE

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
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7 ENCLOSURE

EX-128

18 JAN 16 1961

Approved: 63 JAN 24 1961  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 3, 1961

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BRIEFING OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)  
BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION (CCCPSU) IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1960.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

In September, 1960, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Morris Childs, members of the National Committee of the CP, USA, were in Moscow, Russia, as representatives of the CP, USA, on the Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia. This Commission was also known as the Editorial Commission.

The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On Wednesday, September 28, 1960, Flynn and Childs were briefed by representatives of the CCCPSU in preparation for the opening of the Editorial Commission on September 30, 1960. Representing the CCCPSU were the following:

Pyotr N. Pospelov, candidate member of the Presidium.

Boris N. Ponomarev, member of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department.

FNU Tiroyashkin (phonetic), a deputy to Ponomarev.

D. Shevlyagin, a deputy to Ponomarev, and an editor of the "Kommunist", official organ of the CCCPSU.

Leonid LNU, a deputy to Ponomarev. This person is described as follows: Age 42 to 43, height 5'8½" to 9", weight 160, hair gray, eyes blue. B. APPROX. 1917-1918

Yuri Ivanov, of the International Department of the CCCPSU who acted in the capacity of a translator.

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ENCLOSURE

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**BRIEFING OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE CP, USA, BY  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CCCPSU IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1960**

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Pospelov did most of the talking and the following is the essence of his remarks.

There is presently in Moscow, a delegation from the Communist Party of China (CPC). It is the vanguard for the delegation for the Editorial Commission. It includes TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary, KANG Sheng, candidate for the Politburo and others. I am sorry to inform you that the situation between the CPSU and the CPC is more aggravated and is growing worse. The delegation from the CPC has a large document of some 165 pages. This document or letter is dated September 10, 1960 and is full of slanderous charges. Also the Chinese created some border incidents.

The source advised that while Pospelov blamed the Chinese for the border incidents, he did not go into any details and was not questioned by the representatives of the CP, USA. Subsequently, it was learned from representatives of the CCCPSU that one incident occurred somewhere in Siberia. Members of a Chinese commune enlarged the area of the commune by moving into Russian territory. They were subsequently driven back into Chinese territory by Russian troops. It is not known if there were any injuries or casualties as a result of this incident which occurred sometime prior to August 31, 1960.

Pospelov said, the representatives of the CPC are obdurate. We cannot carry on a civil discussion with them. Although we have met for five days, we have brought the meeting to a close. One rule of the CPSU is that there will be no smoking during the time meetings are in progress. The representatives of the CPC even fought about the right to smoke at our meeting with them. They told us to go to the devil and did as they pleased during the five day meeting. I point this out to illustrate that the atmosphere was and is a hostile one.

~~SECRET~~

**BRIEFING OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE CP, USA BY  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
CCCPSU IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1960**

~~SECRET~~

Pospelov then read from the contents of the CPSU letter to the CPC dated June 21, 1960, and said that representatives of the CPC charged that the CPSU letter was an organized campaign against the CPC. We merely set forth arguments concerning principle in this letter. We did not raise questions which went beyond theoretical principles and the factional behavior of the CPC. However, the representatives of the CPC charge us with betrayal and with selling out to the imperialists, particularly to the American imperialists. They also brought up the fantastic charge that the CPSU and the Soviet Union are guilty of great power chauvinism (imperialism) and said that they would bring up this charge during the meeting of the Editorial Commission.

Pospelov again referred to the letter of the CPC dated September 10, 1960. He said that the letter calls Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU, an apologist for the imperialists. He said, the CPSU is considering a reply to this letter to the CPC but will wait to see what develops during the meeting of the Editorial Commission. Meanwhile, a copy of the CPC letter of September 10, in the Russian language, would be made available to the delegates from the CP, USA for study if the CP, USA delegation so desired. Also, a copy of the first CPSU draft of a proposed declaration which would be presented to the Editorial Commission would be made available to the CP, USA delegation for study.

Pospelov also stated that the CPSU would do everything possible to get the Chinese comrades to listen to reason. The CPSU wants to fight for peace but the CPC is creating a difficult situation in the international arena. You Americans should know that Nikita Khrushchev is fighting for peace.

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

Pospelov said that at that time the CPSU did not know who would head the CPC delegation at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in November. The CPSU would want MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, to head the delegation.

The representatives of the CP, USA, then stated that the leadership of the CP, USA, had privately endorsed the Bucharest Communique and had issued a resolution on peace and peaceful co-existence, which is an endorsement of the position of the CPSU. Also that the leadership of the CP, USA, had instructed that the members of the CP, USA delegation in Moscow, are not to take any trips to China. Further, that while the CP, USA delegation is not to depart from principles, it should not take the lead in the fight against the CPC or to put it into words of General Secretary Gus Hall and Chairman Eugene Dennis, the CP, USA delegation is not to be in the forefront if the throats of the Chinese comrades have to be cut. The China problem is an important one for the CP, USA and the United States. The CPSU should not be concerned if the delegates from the CP, USA try to contact the Chinese comrades to inform them of the CP, USA resolutions, to attempt to influence them and to try to prevent a worsening of the relationship between the CP, USA and the CPC.

Pospelov replied that the CPSU did not expect the CP, USA to take the lead in the struggle against the CPC. The CPSU is only interested in the principled position of the CP, USA. The CPSU has no objection to contacts between the representatives of the CP, USA and the CPC and would be very grateful if the CP, USA could influence the CPC. However, the CPSU had been unable to influence the CPC during the recently concluded five day meeting.

The source advised that subsequent to this meeting, the CPSU made available to the CP, USA delegation, a copy of the CPC letter of September 10, 1960, in the Russian language. However, when it was deemed that an oral translation would consume too much time, the representatives of the CP, USA, visited the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, on Sunday, October 2,

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BRIEFING OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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1960, and were permitted to read an English translation of the CPC letter.

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FBI

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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing details of a briefing of representatives of the CP, USA, by representatives of the CCCPSU on 9/28/60.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/28/60. In regard to the border incidents between China and Russia, CG 5824-S\* has advised that additional references were made to this during the October and November meetings in Moscow, however, CG 5824-S\* knows no more details than those set out in the letterhead memorandum.

(Unclassified)

It is noted that outside of representatives of the CCCPSU, only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN participated in the briefing on 9/28/60. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is ~~classified "Secret"~~. Because of the circumstances under which the information was obtained, the Bureau may desire to raise the classification of this letterhead memorandum to "~~Top Secret~~" to fully protect CG 5824-S\*. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions contained in reBulet.

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C.C. Wick

GALE

JAN 5 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

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